

WITHDRAWN

The Shakespeare Head Edition
of the Novels and Selected Writings
of Daniel Defoe
MOLL FLANDERS



THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES OF THE FAMOUS MOLL FLANDERS, &c

Who was Born in Newgate, and during a Life of
continu'd Variety for Three-score Years, besides her Child-
hood, was Twelve Year a Whore, five times a Wife
(whereof once to her own Brother) Twelve Year
a Thief, Eight Year a Transported Felon
in Virginia, at last grew Rich,
liv'd Honest, and died
a Penitent

Written from her own Memorandums

Volume II

Daniel Defoe

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THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES OF THE FAMOUS MOLL FLANDERS

ILIV'D with this Husband in the utmost Tranquility; he was a Quiet, Sensible, Sober man, Virtuous, Modest, Sincere, and in his Business Diligent and Just: His Business was in a narrow Compass, and his Income sufficient to a plentiful way of Living in the ordinary way; I do not say to keep an Equipage, and make a Figure as the World calls it, nor did I expect it, or desire it; for as I abhorred the Levity and Extravagance of my former Life, so I chose now to live retir'd, frugal, and within ourselves; I kept no Company, made no Visits; minded my Family, and obliged my Husband; and this kind of Life became a Pleasure to me.

We liv'd in an uninterrupted course of Ease and Content for five Years, when a sudden Blow from an almost invisible Hand, blasted all my happiness, and turn'd me out into the World in a Condition the reverse of all that had been before it.

My Husband having trusted one of his Fellow Clerks with a Sum of Money, too much for our Fortunes to bear the Loss of, the Clerk fail'd, and the Loss fell very heavy on my Husband, yet it was not so great, but that if he had had Courage to have look'd his Misfortunes in the Face, his Credit was so good, that as I told him, he would easily

2 *The FORTUNES & MISFORTUNES of*
recover it; for to sink under Trouble is to double the Weight, and he that will Die in it, shall Die in it.

It was in vain to speak comfortably to him, the Wound had sunk too deep, it was a Stab that touch'd the Vitals, he grew Melancholy and Disconsolate, and from thence Lethargick, and died; I foresaw the Blow, and was extremely oppress'd in my Mind, for I saw evidently that if he died I was undone.

I had had two Children by him and no more, for it began to be time for me to leave bearing Children, for I was now Eight and Forty, and I suppose if he had liv'd I should have had no more.

I was now left in a dismal and disconsolate Case indeed, and in several things worse than ever: First it was past the flourishing time with me when I might expect to be courted for a Mistress; that agreeable part had declin'd some time, and the Ruins only appear'd of what had been; and that which was worse than all was this, that I was the most dejected, disconsolate Creature alive; I that had encourag'd my Husband, and endeavour'd to support his Spirits under his Trouble could not support my own; I wanted that Spirit in trouble which I told him was so necessary for bearing the burthen.

But my Case was indeed Deplorable, for I was left perfectly Friendless and Helpless, and the Loss my Husband had sustain'd had reduc'd his Circumstances so low, that tho' indeed I was not in Debt, yet I could easily foresee that what was left would not support me long; that it wasted daily for Subsistence, so that it would be soon all spent, and then I saw nothing before me but the utmost Distress, and this represented it self so lively to my Thoughts, that it seem'd as if it was come, before it was really very near; also my very Apprehensions doubl'd

the Misery, for I fancied every Sixpence that I paid for a Loaf of Bread, was the last I had in the World, and that To-morrow I was to fast, and be starv'd to Death.

In this Distress I had no Assistant, no Friend to comfort or advise me, I sat and cried and tormented myself Night and Day; wringing my Hands, and sometimes raving like a distracted Woman; and indeed I have often wonder'd it had not affected my Reason, for I had the Vapours to such a degree, that my Understanding was sometimes quite lost in Fancies and Imaginations.

I liv'd two Years in this dismal Condition, wasting that little I had, weeping continually over my dismal Circumstances, and as it were only bleeding to Death, without the least hope or prospect of help; and now I had cried so long, and so often, that Tears were exhausted, and I began to be Desperate, for I grew poor apace.

For a little Relief, I had put off my House and took Lodgings; and as I was reducing my Living, so I sold off most of my Goods, which put a little Money in my Pocket, and I liv'd near a Year upon that, spending very sparingly, and eeking things out to the utmost; but still when I look'd before me, my Heart would sink within me at the inevitable approach of Misery and Want: O let none read this part without seriously reflecting on the Circumstances of a desolate State, and how they would grapple with want of Friends and want of Bread; it will certainly make them think not of sparing what they have only, but of looking up to Heaven for support, and of the wise Man's Prayer, *Give me not Poverty least I steal.*

Let 'em remember that a time of Distress, is a time of dreadful Temptation, and all the Strength to resist is taken away; Poverty presses, the Soul is made Desperate by Distress, and what can be done? It was one Evening,

when being brought, as I may say, to the last Gasp, I think I may truly say I was Distracted and Raving, when prompted by I know not what Spirit, and as it were, doing I did not know what, or why; I dress'd me, for I had still pretty good Cloaths, and went out: I am very sure I had no manner of Design in my Head, when I went out, I neither knew or consider'd where to go, or on what Business; but as the Devil carried me out, and laid his Bait for me, so he brought me to be sure to the place, for I knew not whether I was going or what I did.

Wandering thus about I knew not whether, I pass'd by an Apothecary's Shop in *Leadenball-street*, where I saw lye on a Stool just before the Compter a little Bundle wrapt in a white Cloth, beyond it stood a Maid Servant with her Back to it, looking up towards the top of the Shop, where the Apothecary's Apprentice, as I suppose, was standing up on the Compter, with his back also to the Door, and a Candle in his Hand, looking and reaching up to the upper Shelf, for something he wanted, so that both were engag'd, and no Body else in the Shop.

This was the Bait; and the Devil who laid the Snare, prompted me, as if he had spoke, for I remember, and shall never forget it, 'twas like a voice Spoken over my Shoulder, take the Bundle; be quick; do it this Moment; it was no sooner said but I step'd into the Shop, and with my Back to the Wench, as if I had stood up for a Cart that was going by, I put my Hand behind me and took the Bundle, and went off with it, the Maid or Fellow not perceiving me, or any one else.

It is impossible to express the Horror of my Soul all the while I did it. When I went away I had no Heart to run, or scarce to mend my pace; I cross'd the Street indeed, and went down the first turning I came to, and I

think it was a Street that went thro' into *Fenchurch-street*, from thence I crossed and turn'd thro' so many ways and turnings, that I could never tell which way it was, nor where I went, I felt not the Ground I stept on, and the farther I was out of Danger, the faster I went, till tyr'd and out of Breath, I was forc'd to sit down on a little Bench at a Door, and then found I was got into *Thames-street*, near *Billingsgate*: I rested me a little and went on, my Blood was all in a Fire, my Heart beat as if I was in a sudden Fright: In short, I was under such a Surprise that I knew not whether I was a going, or what to do.

After I had tyr'd my self thus with walking a long way about, and so eagerly, I began to consider and make home to my Lodging, where I came about Nine a Clock at Night.

What the Bundle was made up for, or on what Occasion laid where I found it, I knew not, but when I came to open it, I found there was a Suit of Child-bed Linnen in it, very good and almost new, the Lace very fine; there was a Silver Porringer of a Pint, a small Silver Mug and Six Spoons, with some other Linnen, a good Smock, and Three Silk Handkerchiefs, and in the Mug in a Paper, Eighteen Shillings and Six-pence in Money.

All the while I was opening these things I was under such dreadful Impressions of Fear, and in such Terror of Mind, tho' I was perfectly safe, that I cannot express the manner of it; I sat me down and cried most vehemently: Lord, *said I*, what am I now? a Thief! why I shall be taken next time and be carried to *Newgate* and be Try'd for my Life! and with that I cry'd again a long time, and I am sure, as poor as I was, if I had durst for fear, I would certainly have carried the Things back again; but that went off after a while: Well, I went to Bed for that Night, but

slept little, the Horror of the Fact was upon my Mind, and I knew not what I said or did all Night, and all the next Day: Then I was impatient to hear some News of the Loss; and would fain know how it was, whether they were a Poor Bodies Goods, or a Rich; perhaps, *said I*, it may be some poor Widow like me, that had pack'd up these Goods to go and sell them for a little Bread for herself and a poor Child, and are now starving and breaking their Hearts, for want of that little they would have fetch'd, and this Thought tormented me worse than all the rest, for three or four Days.

But my own Distresses silenc'd all these Reflections, and the prospect of my own Starving, which grew every Day more frightful to me, harden'd my Heart by degrees; it was then particularly heavy upon my Mind, that I had been reform'd and had, as I hop'd, repented of all my pass'd wickednesses; that I had liv'd a sober, grave, retir'd Life for several Years, but now I should be driven by the dreadful Necessity of my Circumstances to the Gates of Destruction, Soul and Body; and two or three times I fell upon my Knees, praying to God, as well as I could, for Deliverance; but I cannot but say, my Prayers had no hope in them; I knew not what to do, it was all Fear without, and Dark within; and I reflected on my pass'd Life as not repented of, that Heaven was now beginning to punish me, and would make me as miserable as I had been wicked.

Had I gone on here I had perhaps been a true Penitent; but I had an evil Counsellor within, and he was continually prompting me to relieve my self by the worst means; so one Evening he tempted me again by the same wicked Impulse that had said, *take that Bundle*, to go out again and seek for what might happen.

I went out now by Day-light, and wandred about I knew not whether, and in search of I knew not what, when the Devil put a Snare in my way of a dreadful Nature indeed, and such a one as I have never had before or since; going thro' *Aldersgate-street*, there was a pretty little Child had been at a Dancing-School, and was a going home all alone, and my Prompter, like a true Devil, set me upon this innocent Creature; I talk'd to it, and it prattl'd to me again, and I took it by the Hand and led it a long till I came to a pav'd Alley that goes into *Bartholomew-Close*, and I led it in there; the Child said that was not its way home; I said, yes, my Dear, it is, I'll show you the way home; the Child had a little Necklace on of Gold Beads, and I had my Eye upon that, and in the dark of the Alley I stoop'd, pretending to mend the Child's Clog that was loose, and took off her Necklace, and the Child never felt it, and so led the Child on again: Here, I say, the Devil put me upon killing the Child in the dark Alley, that it might not Cry, but the very thought frightened me so that I was ready to drop down, but I turn'd the Child about and bad it go back again, for that was not its way home; the Child said so she would, and I went thro' into *Bartholomew-Close*, and then turn'd round to another Passage that goes into *Long-lane*, so away into *Charterhouse-Yard*, and out into *St. John's-street*; then crossing into *Smithfield*, went down *Chick-lane*, and into *Field-lane*, to *Holbourn-bridge*, when mixing with the Crowd of People usually passing there, it was not possible to have been found out; and thus I made my second Sally into the World.

The thoughts of this Booty put out all the thoughts of the first, and the Reflections I had made wore quickly off; Poverty harden'd my Heart, and my own Necessities

made me regardless of anything: The last Affair left no great Concern upon me, for as I did the poor Child no harm, I only thought, I had given the Parents a just Re-proof for their Negligence, in leaving the poor Lamb to come home by it self, and it would teach them to take more Care another time.

This String of Beads was worth about Twelve or Fourteen Pounds, I suppose it might have been formerly the Mother's, for it was too big for the Child's wear, but that, perhaps, the Vanity of the Mother to have her Child look Fine at the Dancing School, had made her let the Child wear it, and no doubt the Child had a Maid sent to take care of it, but she, like a careless Jade, was taken up perhaps with some Fellow that had met her, and so the poor Baby wandred till it fell into my Hands.

However, I did the Child no harm, I did not so much as fright it, for I had a great many tender Thoughts about me yet, and did nothing but what, as I may say, meer Necessity drove me to.

I had a great many Adventures after this, but I was young in the Business, and did not know how to manage, otherwise than as the Devil put things into my Head; and indeed he was seldom backward to me: One Adventure I had which was very lucky to me; I was going thro' *Lombard Street* in the dusk of the Evening, just by the end of *Three King Court*, when on a sudden comes a Fellow running by me as swift as Lightning, and throws a Bundle that was in his Hand just behind me, as I stood up against the corner of the House at the turning into the Alley; just as he threw it in, he said, God bless you Mistress let it lie there a little, and away he runs: After him comes two more, and immediately a young Fellow without his Hat, crying stop Thief, they persued the two

last Fellows so close, that they were forc'd to drop what they had got, and one of them was taken into the bargain, the other got off free.

I stood stock still all this while till they came back, dragging the poor Fellow they had taken, and lugging the Things they had found, extremely well satisfied that they had recovered the Booty, and taken the Thief; and thus they pass'd by me, for I look'd only like one who stood up while the Crowd was gone.

Once or twice I ask'd what was the matter, but the People neglected answering me, and I was not very importunate; but after the Crowd was wholly pass'd, I took my opportunity to turn about and take up what was behind me and walk away: This indeed I did with less Disturbance than I had done formerly, for these things I did not steal, but they were stolen to my Hand: I got safe to my Lodgings with this Cargo, which was a Peice of fine black Lustring Silk, and a peice of Velvet; the latter was but part of a Peice of about 11 Yards; the former was a whole Peice of near 50 Yards; it seems it was a *Mercer's* Shop that they had rifl'd; I say, rifled, because the Goods were so considerable that they had Lost; for the Goods that they Recover'd were pretty many, and I believe came to about six or seven several Peices of Silk: How they came to get so many I could not tell; but as I had only robb'd the Thief, I made no scruple at taking these Goods, and being very glad of them too.

I had pretty good Luck thus far, and I made several Adventures more, tho' with but small Purchase, yet with good Success, but I went in daily dread that some mischief would befall me, and that I should certainly come to be hang'd at last: The impression this made on me was too strong to be slighted, and it kept me from making

attempts, that for ought I knew might have been very safely perform'd; but one thing I cannot omit, which was a Bait to me many a Day. I walked frequently out into the Villages round the Town to see if nothing would fall in my Way there; and going by a House near *Stepney*, I saw on the Window-board two Rings, one a small Diamond Ring, and the other a plain Gold Ring, to be sure laid there by some thoughtless Lady, that had more Money than Forecast, perhaps only till she wash'd her Hands.

I walk'd several times by the Window to observe if I could see whether there was any Body in the Room or no, and I could see no Body, but still I was not sure; it came presently into my Thoughts to rap at the Glass, as if I wanted to speak with some Body, and if any Body was there they would be sure to come to the Window, and then I would tell them to remove those Rings, for that I had seen two suspicious Fellows take notice of them: This was a ready Thought, I rapt once or twice and no Body came, when I thrust hard against the Square of Glass, and broke it with little Noise, and took out the two Rings, and walk'd away, the Diamond Ring was worth about 3*l.*, and the other about 9*s.*

I was now at a loss for a Market for my Goods, and especially for my two Peices of Silk, I was very loth to dispose of them for a Trifle; as the poor unhappy Thieves in general do, who after they have ventur'd their Lives for perhaps a thing of Value, are forc'd to sell it for a Song when they have done; but I was resolv'd I would not do thus, whatever Shift I made; however, I did not well know what Course to take: At last I resolv'd to go to my old Governess, and acquaint my self with her again; I had punctually supply'd the 5*l.* a Year to her for my little

Boy as long as I was able; but at last was oblig'd to put a stop to it: However, I had written a Letter to her, wherein I had told her that my Circumstances were reduc'd; that I had lost my Husband, and that I was not able to do it any longer, and beg'd the poor Child might not suffer too much for its Mother's Misfortunes.

I now made her a Visit, and I found that she drove something of the old Trade still, but that she was not in such flourishing Circumstances as before; for she had been Sued by a certain Gentleman, who had had his Daughter stolen from him; and who it seems she had helped to convey away; and it was very narrowly that she escap'd the Gallows; the Expence also had ravag'd her, so that her House was but meanly Furnished, and she was not in such repute for her Practice as before; however, she stood upon her Legs, as they say, and as she was a bustling Woman, and had some Stock left, she was turn'd *Pawn Broker, and liv'd pretty well.*

She receiv'd me very civilly, and with her usual obliging manner told me, she would not have the less respect for me, for my being reduc'd; that she had taken Care my Boy was very well look'd after, tho' I could not pay for him, and that the Woman that had him was easie, so that I needed not to Trouble my self about him, till I might be better able to do it effectually.

I told her I had not much Money left, but that I had some things that were Monie's worth, if she could tell me how I might turn them into Money; she ask'd what it was I had? I pull'd out the string of gold Beads, and told her it was one of my Husband's Presents to me; then I show'd her the two Parcels of Silk which I told her I had from *Ireland*, and brought up to Town with me; and the little Diamond Ring; as to the small Parcel of Plate

and Spoons, I had found means to dispose of them my self before; and as for the Childbed Linnen I had, she offer'd me to take it her self, believing it to have been my own; she told me that she was turn'd *Pawn-Broker*, and that she would sell those things for me as pawn'd to her, and so she sent presently for proper Agents that bought them, being in her Hands, without any scruple, and gave good Prizes too.

I now began to think this necessary Woman might help me a little in my low Condition to some Business; for I would gladly have turn'd my Hand to any honest Employment if I could have got it; but honest Business did not come within her reach; if I had been younger, perhaps she might have helped me, but my Thoughts were off of that kind of Livelihood, as being quite out of the way after 50, which was my Case, and so I told her.

She invited me at last to come, and be at her House till I could find something to do, and it should cost me very little, and this I gladly accepted of; and now living a little easier, I enter'd into some Measures to have my little Son by my last Husband taken off; and this she made easie too, reserving a Payment only of 5*l.* a Year, if I could pay it. This was such a help to me, that for a good while I left off the wicked Trade that I had so newly taken up; and gladly I would have got Work, but that was very hard to do for one that had no Acquaintance.

However, at last I got some Quilting Work for Ladies Beds, Petticoats, and the like; and this I lik'd very well and work'd very hard, and with this I began to live; but the diligent Devil who resolv'd I should continue in his Service, continually prompted me to go out and take a Walk, that is to say, to see if any thing would offer in the old Way.

One Evening I blindly obeyed his Summons, and fetch'd a long Circuit thro' the Streets, but met with no purchase; but not content with that, I went out the next Evening too, when going by an Alehouse I saw the Door of a little room open, next the very Street, and on the Table a silver Tankard, things much in use in publick Houses at that time; it seems some Company had been drinking there, and the careless Boys had forgot to take it away.

I went into the Box frankly, and setting the silver Tankard on the Corner of the Bench, I sat down before it, and knock'd with my Foot, a Boy came presently, and I bad him fetch me a pint of warm Ale, for it was cold Weather; the Boy run, and I heard him go down the Cellar to draw the Ale; while the Boy was gone, another Boy come, and cried, *d'ye call*, I spoke with a melancholly Air, and said, no, the Boy is gone for a pint of Ale for me.

While I sat here, I heard the Woman in the Bar say, are they all gone in the FIVE, which was the Box I sat in, and the Boy said, *yes*; who fetch'd the Tankard away? *says the Woman*, I did, *says another Boy*, that's it, pointing it seems to another Tankard, which he had fetch'd from another Box by Mistake; or else it must be, that the Rogue forgot that he had not brought it in, which certainly he had not.

I heard all this, much to my satisfaction, for I found plainly that the Tankard was not mist, and yet they concluded it was fetch'd away; so I drank my Ale, call'd to Pay, and as I went away, *I said*, take care of your Plate, Child, meaning a silver pint Mug which he brought me to Drink in; the Boy said, *yes, Madam, very welcome*, and away I came.

I came Home to my Governess, and now I thought it

was a time to try her, that if I might be put to the Necessity of being expos'd she might offer me some assistance; when I had been at Home some time, and had an opportunity of Talking to her, I told her I had a Secret of the greatest Consequence in the World to commit to her, if she had respect enough for me to keep it a Secret: she told me she had kept one of my Secrets faithfully; why should I doubt her keeping another? I told her the strangest thing in the World had befallen me, even without any design; and so told her the whole Story of the Tankard: And have you brought it away with you my Dear, *says she*, to be sure I have, *says I*, and shew'd it her. But what shall I do now, *says I*, must not I carry it again?

Carry it again! *says she*, Ay, if you want to go to *Newgate*; why, *says I*, they can't be so base to stop me, when I carry it to them again? You don't know those Sort of People Child, *says she*, they'll not only carry you to *Newgate*, but hang you too without any regard to the honesty of returning it; or bring in an Account of all the other Tankards as they have lost for you to pay for: What must I do then? *says I*; Nay, *says she*, as you have plaid the cunning part and stole it, you must e'en keep it, there's no going back now; besides Child, *says she*, Don't you want it more than they do? I wish you cou'd light of such a Bargain once a Week.

This gave me a new Notion of my *Governess*, and that since she was turn'd *Pawn-Broker*, she had a Sort of People about her, that were none of the honest ones that I had met with there before.

I had not been long there, but I discover'd it more plainly than before, for every now and then I saw Hilts of Swords, Spoons, Forks, Tankards, and all such kind of Ware brought in, not to be Pawn'd, but to be sold

down right; and she bought them all without asking any Questions, but had good Bargains as I found by her Discourse.

I found also that in following this Trade, she always melted down the Plate she bought, that it might not be challeng'd; and she came to me and told me one Morning that she was going to Melt, and if I would, she would put my Tankard in, that it might not be seen by any Body; I told her with all my Heart; so she weigh'd it, and allow'd me the full value in Silver again; but I found she did not do so to the rest of her Customers.

Sometime after this, as I was at Work, and very melancholly, she begins to ask me what the Matter was? I told her my Heart was very heavy, I had little Work, and nothing to live on, and knew not what Course to take; she laugh'd and told me I must go out again and try my Fortune; it might be that I might meet with another Peice of Plate. O, Mother! *says I*, that is a Trade that I have no skill in, and if I should be taken I am undone at once; *says she*, I could help you to a School-Mistress, that shall make you as dexterous as her self; I trembled at that Proposal, for hitherto I had had no Confederates, nor any Acquaintance among that Tribe; but she conquer'd all my Modesty, and all my Fears; and in a little time, by the help of this Confederate, I grew as impudent a Thief, and as dexterous, as ever *Moll Cut-Purse* was, tho' if Fame does not belie her, not half so Handsome.

The Comrade she helped me to, dealt in three sorts of Craft. (*viz.*) Shop-lifting, stealing of Shop-Books and Pocket-Books, and taking off Gold Watches from the Ladies Sides; and this last she did so dexterously that no Woman ever arriv'd to the Perfection of that Art, like her: I lik'd the first and the last of these things very well,

and I attended her some time in the Practice, just as a Deputy attends a Midwife without any Pay.

At length she put me to Practice, she had shewn me her Art, and I had several times unhook'd a Watch from her own Side with great dexterity; at last she show'd me a Prize, and this was a Young lady with Child who had a charming Watch, the thing was to be done as she came out of the Church; she goes on one side of the Lady, and pretends, just as she came to the Steps, to fall, and fell against the Lady with so much violence as put her into a great fright, and both cry'd out terribly: in the very moment that she jostl'd the Lady, I had hold of the Watch, and holding it the right way, the start she gave drew the Hook out and she never felt it; I made off immediately, and left my School-Mistress to come out of her Fright gradually, and the Lady too; and presently the Watch was miss'd; ay, *says my Comrade*, then it was those Rogues that thrust me down, I warrant ye; I wonder the Gentle-woman did not miss her Watch before, then we might have taken them.

She humour'd the thing so well that no Body suspected her, and I was got home a full Hour before her: This was my first Adventure in Company; the Watch was indeed a very fine one, and had many Trinkets about it, and my Governess allow'd us 20*l.* for it, of which I had half, and thus I was enter'd a compleat Thief, harden'd to a Pitch above all the Reflections of Conscience or Modesty, and to a Degree which I never thought possible in me.

Thus the Devil who began, by the help of an irresistible Poverty, to push me into this Wickedness, brought me on to a height beyond the common Rate, even when my Necessities were not so terrifying; for I had now got

into a little Vein of Work, and as I was not at a loss to handle my Needle, it was very probable I might have got my Bread honestly enough.

I must say, that if such a prospect of Work had presented it self at first, when I began to feel the approach of my miserable Circumstances; I say, had such a prospect of getting Bread by working presented it self then, I had never fallen into this wicked Trade, or into such a wicked Gang as I was now embark'd with; but practice had hardened me, and I grew audacious to the last degree; and the more so, because I had carried it on so long, and had never been taken; for in a word, my new Partner in Wickedness *and* I went on together so long, without being ever detected, that we not only grew Bold, but we grew Rich, and we had at one time One and Twenty Gold Watches in our Hands.

I remember that one Day being a little more serious than ordinary, and finding I had so good a Stock beforehand, as I had, for I had near 200*l.* in Money for my Share; it came strongly into my Mind, no doubt from some kind Spirit, if such there be; that as at first Poverty excited me, and my Distresses drove me to these dreadful Shifts; so seeing those Distresses were now relieved, and I could also get something towards a Maintenance by working, and had so good a Bank to support me, why should I not now leave off, while I was well; that I could not expect to go always free; and if I was once surpris'd, I was undone.

This was doubtless the happy Minute, when, if I had hearken'd to the blessed hint from whatsoever hand it came, I had still a cast for an easie Life; but my Fate was otherwise determin'd, the busie Devil that drew me in, had too fast hold of me to let me go back; but as Poverty

brought me in, so Avarice kept me in, till there was no going back; as to the Arguments which my Reason dictated for perswading me to lay down, Avarice stept in and said, go on, you have had very good luck, go on till you have gotten Four or Five Hundred Pound, and then you shall leave off, and then you may live easie without working at all.

Thus I that was once in the Devil's Clutches, was held fast there as with a Charm, and had no Power to go without the Circle, till I was ingulph'd in Labyrinths of Trouble too great to get out at all.

However, these Thoughts left some Impression upon me, and made me act with some more caution than before, and more than my Directors us'd for themselves. My Comerade, as I called her, she should have been called my Teacher, with another of her Scholars, was the first in the Misfortune; for happening to be upon the hunt for Purchase, they made an attempt upon a Linnen-Draper in *Cheapside*, but were snap'd by a Hawk's-ey'd Journey-man, and seiz'd with two pieces of Cambrick, which were taken also upon them.

This was enough to Lodge them both in *Newgate*, where they had the Misfortune to have some of their former Sins brought to remembrance; two other Indictments being brought against them, and the Facts being prov'd upon them, they were both condemn'd to Die; they both pleaded their Bellies and were both voted Quick with Child; tho' my Tutress was no more with Child than I was.

I went frequently to see them, and Condole with them, expecting that it would be my turn next; but the place gave me so much Horror, reflecting that it was the place of my unhappy Birth, and of my Mother's Misfortunes, that I could not bear it, so I left off going to see them.

And O! cou'd I but have taken warning by their Disasters, I had been happy still, for I was yet free, and had nothing brought against me; but it could not be, my Measure was not yet fill'd up.

My Comerade, having the Brand of an old Offender, was Executed; the young Offender was spar'd, having obtained a Reprieve; but lay starving a long while in Prison, till at last she got her Name into what they call a Circuit Pardon, and so came off.

This terrible Example of my Comrade frightened me heartily, and for a good while I made no Excursions; but one Night, in the Neighbourhood of my Governesses House, they cry'd, Fire; my Governess look'd out, for we were all up, and cry'd immediately that such a Gentlewoman's House was all of a light Fire a top, and so indeed it was: Here she gives me a jog, now, Child, says she, there is a rare opportunity, the Fire being so near that you may go to it before the Street is block'd up with the Crowd; she presently gave me my Cue, go, Child, *says she*, to the House, and run in and tell the Lady, or any Body you see, that you come to help them, and that you came from such a Gentlewoman (that is, one of her Acquaintance farther up the Street).

Away I went, and coming to the House I found them all in Confusion, you may be sure; I run in, and finding one of the Maids, alas! Sweetheart, *said I*, how came this dismal Accident? where is your Mistress? Is she safe? And where are the Children? I come from Madam —— to help you; away runs the Maid, Madam, madam, *says she*, screaming as loud as she cou'd yell, *here is a Gentlewoman come from Madam —— to help us*: The poor Woman half out of her Wits, with a Bundle under her Arm, and two little Children, comes towards me, *Madam, says*

I, let me carry the poor Children to Madam ——, she desires you to send them; she'll take care of the poor Lambs, and so I takes one of them out of her Hand, and she lifts the tother up into my Arms; *ay, do, for God sake,* says she, *carry them; O thank her for her kindness:* Have you *anything else to secure*, Madam? says I, *she will take care of it:* O dear! says she, *God bless her, take this bundle of Plate and carry it to her too; O she is a good Woman; O, we are utterly ruin'd, undone;* and away she runs from me out of her Wits, and the Maids after her, and away comes I with the two Children and the Bundle.

I was no sooner got into the Street, but I saw another Woman come to me; O! *says she*, Mistress, in a piteous Tone, you will let fall the Child; come, come, this is a sad time, let me help you, and immediately lays hold of my Bundle to carry it for me; no, *says I*, if you will help me, take the Child by the Hand, and lead it for me but to the upper end of the Street, I'll go with you and satisfie you for your pains.

She cou'd not avoid going, after what I said, but the Creature, in short, was one of the same Business with me, and wanted nothing but the Bundle; however, she went with me to the Door, for she cou'd not help it; when we were come there I whisper'd her, *go Child*, said I, *I understand your Trade*, you may meet with Purchase enough.

She understood me and walk'd off; I thundered at the Door with the Children, and as the People were rais'd before by the noise of the Fire, I was soon let in, and I said, *is Madam awake, pray tell her Mrs. —— desires the favour of her to take the two Children in;* poor Lady, *she will be undone, their House is all of a Flame;* they took the Children in very civilly, pitied the Family in Distress, and away came I with my Bundle; one of the Maids ask'd me,

if I was not to leave the Bundle too; I said no, Sweet-heart, 'tis to go to another Place, it does not belong to them.

I was a great way out of the hurry now, and so I went on, and brought the Bundle of Plate, which was very considerable, strait home, to my old Governess; she told me she would not look into it, but bad me go again and look for more.

She gave me the like Cue to the Gentlewoman of the next House to that which was on Fire, and I did my endeavour to go, but by this time the allarm of Fire was so great, and so many Engines playing and the Street so throng'd with People, that I cou'd not get near the House, whatever I cou'd do; so I came back again to my Governesses, and taking the Bundle up into my Chamber, I began to examine it: It is with Horror that I tell what a Treasure I found there; 'tis enough to say, that besides most of the Family Plate, which was considerable, I found a Gold Chain, an old-fashion'd thing, the Locket of which was broken, so that I suppose it had not been us'd some Years, but the Gold was not the worse for that; also a little Box of burying Rings, the Lady's Wedding-Ring, and some broken bits of old Locketts of Gold, a Gold Watch, and a Purse with about 24*l.* value in old Pieces of Gold Coin, and several other things of Value.

This was the greatest and the worst Prize that ever I was concern'd in, for indeed, tho', as I have said above, I was harden'd now beyond the Power of all Reflection in other Cases, yet it really touch'd me to the very Soul, when I look'd into this Treasure; to think of the poor disconsolate Gentlewoman who had lost so much besides; and who would think to be sure that she had sav'd her Plate and best things; how she wou'd be surpriz'd when she

should find that she had been deceiv'd, and that the Person that took her Children and her Goods, had not come, as was pretended, from the Gentlewoman in next Street, but that the Children had been put upon her without her own knowledge.

I say, I confess the inhumanity of this Action mov'd me very much, and made me relent exceedingly, and Tears stood in my Eyes upon that Subject: But with all my Sense of its being cruel and Inhuman, I cou'd never find in my Heart to make any Restitution: The Reflection wore off, and I quickly forgot the Circumstances that attended it.

Nor was this all, for tho' by this jobb I was become considerably Richer than before, yet the Resolution I had formerly taken of leaving off this horrid Trade, when I had gotten a little more did not return; but I must still get more; and the Avarice had such Success, that I had no more Thoughts of coming to a timely Alteration of Life; tho' without it I cou'd expect no Safety, no Tranquility in the Possession of what I had gain'd; a little more, and a little more, was the Case still.

At length yielding to the Importunities of my Crime, I cast off all Remorse and all the Reflections on that Head, turn'd to no more than this, that I might perhaps come to have one Booty more that might compleat all; but tho' I certainly had that one Booty, yet every hit look'd towards another, and was so encouraging to me to go on with the Trade, that I had no Gust to the laying it down.

In this Condition, harden'd by Success, and resolving to go on, I fell into the Snare in which I was appointed to meet with my last Reward for this kind of Life: But even this was not yet, for I met with several successful Adventures more in this way.

My Governess was for awhile really concern'd for this Misfortune of my Comerade that had been hang'd, for she knew enough of my Governess to have sent her the same way, and which made her very uneasy; indeed she was in a very great fright.

It is true, that when she was gone and had not told what she knew; My Governess was easy as to that Point, and perhaps glad she was hang'd; for it was in her power to have obtain'd a Pardon at the Expence of her Friends; But, the loss of her, and the Sense of her Kindness in not making her Market of what she knew, mov'd my Governess to Mourn very sincerely for her: I comforted her as well as I cou'd, and she in return harden'd me to Merit more compleatly the same Fate.

However as I had said it made me the more wary, and particularly I was very shie of Shop-lifting, especially among the *Mercers* and *Drapers* who are a Set of Fellows, that have their Eyes very much about them: I made a Venture or two among the Lace Folks, and the Mileners, and particularly at one Shop, where two young Women were newly setup, and [had] not been bred to Trade: There, I carried off a Peice of Bone lace, worth six or seven Pound, and a Paper of Thread; but this was but once, it was a Trick that would not serve again.

It was always reckon'd a safe Job when we heard of a new Shop, and especially, when the People were such as were not bred to Shops; such may depend upon it, that they will be visited once or twice at their beginning, and they must be very Sharp indeed if they can prevent it.

I made another Adventure or two after this, but they were but Trifles: Nothing considerable offering for a good while; I began to think that I must give over Trade in Earnest; but my Governess, who was not willing to

lose me, and expected great Things of me, brought me one Day into Company with a young Woman and a Fellow that went for her Husband, tho' as it appear'd afterwards she was not his Wife, but they were Partners in the Trade they carried on; and in something else too. *Inshort*, they robb'd together, lay together, were taken together, and at last were hang'd together.

I came into a kind of League with these two by the help of my Governess, and they carried me out into three or four Adventures, where I rather saw them commit some Coarse and unhandy Robberies, in which nothing but a great Stock of impudence on their Side, and gross Negligence on the Peoples Side who were robb'd, could have made them Successful; so I resolv'd from that time forward to be very Cautious how I Adventur'd with them; and indeed when two or three unlucky Projects were propos'd by them, I declin'd the offer, and perswaded them against it: One time they particularly propos'd Robbing a Watchmaker of 3 Gold Watches, which they had Ey'd in the Day time, and found the Place where he laid them; one of them had so many Keys of all kinds, that he made no Question to open the Place, where the Watchmaker had laid them; and so we made a kind of an Appointment; but when I came to look narrowly into the Thing, I found they propos'd breaking open the House, and this I would not Embark in, so they went without me: They did get into the House by main Force, and broke up the lock'd Place where the Watches were, but found but one of the Gold Watches, and a Silver one, which they took, and got out of the House again very clear; but the Family being alarm'd cried out Thieves, and the Man was pursued and taken, the young Woman had got off too, but unhappily was stop'd at a Distance, and the Watches found upon

her; and thus I had a second Escape, for they were convicted, and both hang'd, being old Offenders, tho' but young People; and as I *said before*, that they robb'd together, so now they hang'd together, and there ended my new Partnership.

I began now to be very wary, having so narrowly escap'd a Scouring, and having such an Example before me; but I had a new Tempter, who prompted me every day, I mean my Governess; and now a Prize presented, which as it came by her Management, so she expected a good Share of the Booty; there was a good Quantity of Flanders-Lace lodg'd in a private House, where she had heard of it; and Flanders Lace, being Prohibited, it was a good Booty to any Custom-House Officer that could come at it: I had a full Account from my Governess, as well of the Quantity as of the very Place, where it was conceal'd, so I went to a Custom-House Officer, and told him, I had a Discovery to make to him, if he would assure me that I should have my due Share of the Reward: This was so just an offer, that nothing could be fairer; so he agreed, and taking a Constable, and me with him, we beset the House; as I told him, I could go directly to the Place, he left it to me, and the Hole being very dark, I squeez'd myself into it, with a Candle in my Hand, and so reach'd the Peices out to him, taking care, as I gave him some, so to secure as much about myself as I could conveniently Dispose of: There was near 300*l.* worth of Lace in the whole; and I secur'd about 50*l.* worth of it myself. The People of the House were not owners of the Lace, but a Merchant who had entrusted them with it; so that they were not so surpriz'd as I thought they would be.

I left the Officer overjoy'd with his Prize, and fully satisfy'd with what he had got, and appointed to meet

him at a House of his own directing, where I came after I had dispos'd of the Cargo I had about me, of which he had not the least Suspicion; when I came, he began to Capitulate, believing I did not understand the right I had in the Prize, and would fain have put me off with Twenty Pound, but I let him know that I was not so ignorant as he suppos'd I was; and yet I was glad too, that he offer'd to bring me to a certainty; I asked 100*l.* and he rose up to 30*l.*; I fell to 80*l.* and he rose again to 40*l.*; in a Word, he offered 50*l.* and I consented, only demanding a Peice of Lace, which I thought came to about 8 or 9 Pound, as if it had been for my own Wear, and he agreed to it, so I got 50*l.* in Money paid me that same Night, and made an End of the Bargain; nor did he ever know who I was, or where to enquire for me; so that if it had been discover'd, that part of the Goods were embezzel'd; he could have made no Challenge upon me for it.

I very punctually divided this Spoil with my Governess, and I pass'd with her from this time for a very dexterous Manager in the nicest Cases; I found that this last was the best, and easiest sort of Work that was in my way, and I made it my business to enquire out prohibited Goods; and after buying some usually betray'd them, but none of these Discoveries amounted to any thing considerable, not like that I related just now; but I was Cautious of running the great Risques which I found others did, and in which they Miscarried every Day.

The next thing of Moment, was an attempt at a Gentlewoman's gold Watch, it happen'd in a Crowd, at a Meeting-House, where I was in very great Danger of being taken; I had full hold of her Watch, but giving a great Jostle, as if some body had thrust me against her, and in the Juncture giving the Watch a fair pull, I found it would

not come, so I let it go that Moment, and cried as if I had been kill'd, that somebody had Trod upon my Foot, and that there was certainly *Pick-pockets* there; for some body or other had given a pull at my Watch, for you are to observe, that on these Adventures we always went very well Dress'd, and I had very good Cloths on, and a Gold Watch by my Side, as like a Lady as other Folks.

I had no sooner said so, but the other Gentlewoman cried out *a Pick-pocket* too, for some body, *she said*, had try'd to pull her Watch away.

When I touch'd her Watch, I was close to her, but when I cry'd out, I stop'd as it were short, and the Crowd bearing her forward a little, she made a Noise too, but it was at some Distance from me, so that she did not in the least suspect me, but when she cried out *a Pick-pocket*, some body cried out Ay, and here has been another, this Gentlewoman has been attempted too.

At that very instant, a little farther in the Crowd, and very Luckily too, they cried out *a Pick-pocket* again, and really seiz'd a young Fellow in the very Fact. This, tho' unhappy for the Wretch, was very opportunely for my Case, tho' I had carried it handsomely enough before, but now it was out of Doubt, and all the loose part of the Crowd ran that way, and the poor Boy was deliver'd up to the Rage of the Street, which is a Cruelty I need not describe, and which however, they are always glad of, rather than be sent to *Newgate*, where they lie often a long time, and sometimes they are hang'd, and the best they can look for, if they are Convicted, is to be Transported.

This was a narrow Escape to me, and I was so frightened, that I ventur'd no more at Gold Watches a great while; there were indeed many Circumstances in this Adventure, which assisted to my Escape; but the chief was, that

the Woman whose Watch I had pull'd at was a Fool; that is to say, she was Ignorant of the nature of the Attempt, which one would have thought she should not have been, seeing she was wise enough to fasten her Watch, so that it could not be slipt up; but she was in such a Fright, that she had no Thought about her; for she, when she felt the pull scream'd out, and push'd herself forward, and put all the People about her into disorder, but said not a Word of her Watch, or of a *Pick-pocket*, for at least two Minutes; which was time enough for me, and to spare; for as I had cried out behind her, *as I have said*, and bore myself back in the Crowd as she bore forward, there were several People, at least seven or eight, the Throng being still moving on, that were got between me and her in that time, and then I crying out *a Pick-pocket*, rather sooner than she, she might as well be the Person suspected as I, and the People were confus'd in their Enquiry; whereas, had she with a Presence of Mind needful on such an Occasion, as soon as she felt the pull, not skream'd out as she did, but turn'd immediately round, and seiz'd the next Body that was behind her, she had infallibly taken me.

This is a Direction not of the kindest Sort to the Fraternity; but 'tis certainly a Key to the Clue of a *Pick-pocket's* Motions, and whoever can follow it, will as certainly catch the Thief as he will be sure to miss if he does not.

I had another Adventure, which puts this Matter out of doubt, and which may be an Instruction for Posterity in the Case of a *Pick-pocket*; my good old Governess to give a short touch at her History, tho' she had left off the Trade, was as I may say, born a *Pick-pocket*, and as I understood afterward, had run thro' all the several Degrees of that Art, and yet had been taken but once; when she was so grossly detected, that she was convicted and or-

der'd to be Transported; but being a Woman of a rare Tongue, and withal having Money in her Pocket; she found Means, the Ship putting into *Ireland* for Provisions, to get on Shore there, where she practised her old Tradesome Years; when falling into another sort of Company she turned Midwife and Procureess, and play'd a hundred Pranks, which she gave me a little History of, in Confidence between us as we grew more intimate; and it was to this wicked Creature that I ow'd all the Dexterity I arriv'd to, in which there were few that ever went beyond me, or that practis'd so long without any Misfortune.

It was after those Adventures in *Ireland*, and when she was pretty well known in that Country, that she left *Dublin*, and came over to *England*, where the time of her Transportation being not expir'd, she left her former Trade, for fear of falling into bad Hands again, for then she was sure to have gone to Wreck: Here she set up the same Trade she had followed in *Ireland*, in which she soon, by her admirable Management, and a good Tongue, arrived to the Height, which I have already describ'd, and indeed began to be Rich, tho' her Trade fell again afterwards.

I mention thus much of the History of this Woman here, the better to account for the concern she had in the wicked Life I was now leading; into all the Particulars of which she lead me, as it were, by the Hand, and gave me such Directions, and I so well follow'd them, that I grew the greatest Artist of my time, and work'd myself out of every Danger with such Dexterity, that when several more of my Comrades run themselves into *Newgate*, by that time they had been half a Year at the Trade: I had now practis'd upwards of five Year, and the People at

Newgate did not so much as know me; they had heard much of me indeed, and often expected me there; but I always got off, tho' many times in the extreamest Danger.

One of the greatest Dangers I was now in, was that I was too well known among the Trade, and some of them whose hatred was owing rather to Envy, than any Injury I had done them began to be Angry, that I should always Escape when they were always catch'd and hurried to *Newgate*. These were they that gave me the Name of *Moll Flanders*: For it was no more of Affinity with my real Name, or with any of the Names I had ever gone by, than black is of Kin to white, except that once, as before I call'd my self Mrs. *Flanders*, when I sheltered my self in the *Mint*; but that these Rogues never knew, nor could I ever learn how they came to give me the Name, or what the Occasion of it was.

I was soon inform'd that some of these who were gotten fast into *Newgate*, had vowed to Impeach me; and as I knew that two or three of them were but too able to do it, I was under a great concern, and kept within Doors for a good while; but my Governess who was Partner in my Success, and who now plaid a sure Game, for she had no Share in the hazard, *I say*, my Governess was something impatient of my leading such a useless unprofitable Life, as she call'd it; and she laid a new Contrivance for my going Abroad, and this was to Dress me up in Men's Cloths, and so put me into a new kind of Practice.

I was Tall and Personable, but a little too smooth Fac'd for a Man; however, as I seldom went Abroad, but in the Night it did well enough; but it was long before I could behave in my new Cloaths; it was impossible to be so Nimble, so Ready, so Dexterous at these things, in a Dress contrary to Nature; and as I did every thing Clumsily, so

I had neither the success, or easiness of Escape that I had before, and I resolv'd to leave it off; but that Resolution was confirm'd soon after by the following Accident.

As my Governess had disguis'd me like a Man, so she joyn'd me with a Man, a young Fellow that was Nimble enough at his Business, and for about three Weeks we did very well together. Our principal Trade was watching Shop-Keepers Compters, and Slipping off any kinds of Goods we could see carelessly laid any where, and we made several good Bargains as we call'd them at this Work: And as we kept always together, so we grew very intimate, yet he never knew that I was not a Man; nay, tho' I several times went home with him to his Lodgings, according as our business directed, and four or five times lay with him all Night: But our Design lay another way, and it was absolutely necessary to me to conceal my Sex from him, as appear'd afterwards: The circumstances of our Living, coming in late, and having such Business to do as requir'd that no Body should be trusted with coming into into our Lodgings, were such as made it impossible to me to refuse lying with him, unless I would have own'd my Sex, and as it was I effectually conceal'd my self.

But his ill, and my good Fortune, soon put an end to this Life, which I must own I was sick of too: We had made several Prizes in this new way of Business, but the last would have been extraordinary; there was a Shop in a certain Street which had a Warehouse behind it that look'd into another Street, the House making the Corner.

Through the Window of the Warehouse we saw lying on the Compter or Show-board which was just before it, five peices of Silks, besides other Stuffs; and tho' it was almost dark, yet the People being busie in the fore Shop

had not had time to shut up those Windows, or else had forgot it.

This the young Fellow was so overjoy'd with, that he could not restrain himself, it lay within his reach he said, and he swore violently to me that he would have it, if he broke down the House for it; I dissuaded him a little, but saw there was no Remedy, so he run rashly upon it, slipt out a Square out of the Sash Window dexterously enough, and got four Peices of the silks, and came with them towards me, but was immediately persued with a terrible Clutter and Noise; we were standing together indeed, but I had not taken any of the Goods out of his Hand, when I said to him hastily, you are undone! he run like Lightning, and I too, but the pursuit was hotter after him, because he had the Goods; he dropt two of the Peices, which stop'd them a little, but the crowd encreas'd, and persued us both; they took him soon after with the other two Peices, and then the rest follow'd me; I run for it and got into my Governesses House, whether some quick-ey'd People follow'd me so warmly as to fix me there; they did not immediately knock at the Door, by which I got time to throw off my Disguise, and dress me in my own Cloaths; besides, when they came there, my Governess, who had her Tale ready, kept her Door shut, and call'd out to them and told them there was no Man came in there; the People affirm'd there did a Man come in there, and swore they would break open the Door.

My Governess, not at all surpriz'd, spoke calmly to them, told them they should very freely come and search her House, if they would bring a Constable, and let in none but such as the Constable would admit, for it was unreasonable to let in a whole Crowd; this they could not refuse, tho' they were a Crowd; so a Constable was fetch'd

immediately, and she very freely open'd the Door, the Constable kept the Door, and the Men he appointed search'd the House, my Governess going with them from Room to Room; when she came to my Room she call'd to me, and said aloud; Cousin, pray open the Door, here's some Gentlemen that must come and look into your Room.

I had a little Girl with me, which was my Governesses Grand-child, as she call'd her; and I bad her open the Door, and there sat I at work with a great litter of things about me, as if I had been at Work all Day, being undress'd, with only Night-cloaths on my Head, and a loose Morning Gown about me: My Governess made a kind of excuse for their disturbing me, telling partly the occasion of it, and that she had no Remedy but to open the Doors to them, and let them satisfie themselves, for all she could say would not satisfie them: I sat still, and bid them search if they pleas'd, for if there was any Body in the House, I was sure they was not in my Room; and for the rest of the House I had nothing to say to that, I did not understand what they look'd for.

Every thing look'd so innocent and so honest about me, that they treated me civiller than I expected, but it was not till they had search'd the Room to a nicety, even under the Bed, and in the Bed, and every where else, where it was possible any thing cou'd be hid; when they had done and cou'd find nothing, they ask'd my Pardon, and went down.

When they had thus searched the House from Bottom to Top, and then from Top to Bottom, and cou'd find nothing, they appeas'd the Mob pretty well; but they carried my Governess before the Justice: Two Men swore that they see the Man, who they pursued, go into her House:

My Governess rattled and made a great noise that her House should be insulted, and that she should be used thus for nothing; that if a Man did come in, he might go out again presently for ought she knew, for she was ready to make Oath that no Man had been within her Doors all that Day as she knew of; *which was very true*; that it might be, that as she was above Stairs, any Fellow in a Fright might find the Door open, and run in for shelter when he was pursued, but that she knew nothing of it; and if it had been so, he certainly went out again, perhaps at the other Door, for she had another Door into an Alley, and so had made his escape.

This was indeed probable enough, and the Justice satisfied himself with giving her an Oath, that she had not receiv'd or admitted any Man into her House to conceal him, or protect or hide him from Justice: This Oath she might justly take, and did so, and so she was dismiss'd.

It is easie to judge what a fright I was in upon this occasion, and it was impossible for my Governess ever to bring me to Dress in that Disguise again; for, *as* I told her, I should certainly betray myself.

My poor Partner in this Mischief was now in a bad Case, for he was carry'd away before my Lord Mayor, and by his Worship committed to *Newgate*, and the People that took him were so willing, as well as able, to Prosecute him, that they offer'd themselves to enter into Recognisances to appear at the Sessions, and persue the Charge against him.

However, he got his Indictment deferr'd, upon promise to discover his Accomplices, and particularly, the Man that was concern'd with him in this Robbery, and he fail'd not to do his Endeavour, for he gave in my Name,

who he call'd *Gabriel Spencer*, which was the Name I went by to him, and here appear'd the Wisdom of my concealing my self from him, without which I had been undone.

He did all he could to discover this *Gabriel Spencer*; he describ'd me; he discover'd the Place where he said I Lodg'd; and in a Word, all the Particulars that he could of my Dwelling; but having conceal'd the main Circumstances of my Sex from him; I had a vast Advantage, and he could never hear of me; he brought two or three Families into trouble, by his Endeavouring to find me out, but they knew nothing of me, any more than that he had a Fellow with him, that they had seen, but knew nothing of; and as to my Governess, tho' she was the Means of his coming to me, yet it was done at second Hand, and he knew nothing of her neither.

This turn'd to his Disadvantage; for having promis'd Discoveries, but not being able to make it good, it was look'd upon as trifling, and he was the more fiercely persued by the Shopkeeper.

I was however terribly uneasie all this while, and that I might be quite out of the Way, I went away from my Governess for a while; but not knowing whither to wander, I took a Maid Servant with me, and took the Stage-Coach to *Dunstable* to my old Landlord and Landlady, where I lived so handsomely with my *Lancashire* Husband: Here I told her a formal Story, that I expected my Husband every day from *Ireland*, and that I had sent a Letter to him, that I would meet him at *Dunstable* at her House, and that he would certainly Land if the Wind was fair, in a few Days; so that I was come to spend a few Days with them till he could come, for he would either come

Post, or in the *West-Chester* Coach, I knew not which, but which soever it was, he would be sure to come to that House to meet me.

My Landlady was mighty glad to see me, and my Landlord made such a Stir with me, that if I had been a Princess I could not have been better used, and here I might have been Welcome a Month or two if I had thought fit.

But my Business was of another Nature, I was very uneasie, (though so well disguis'd that it was scarce possible to Detect me) least this Fellow should find me out; and tho' he could not charge me with the Robbery, having perswaded him not to venture, and having done nothing of it myself, yet he might have charg'd me with other Things, and have bought his own Life at the Expence of mine.

This fill'd me with horrible Apprehensions: I had no Recourse, no Friend, no Confident but my old Governess, and I knew no Remedy but to put my Life into her Hands; and so I did, for I let her know where to send to me, and had several Letters from her while I stay'd here, some of them almost scar'd me out of my Wits; but at last she sent me the joyful News that he was Hang'd, which was the Best News to me that I had heard a great while.

I had stay'd here five Weeks, and liv'd very comfortably indeed (these secret Anxiety of my Mind excepted) but when I receiv'd this Letter I look'd pleasantly again, and told my Landlady that I had receiv'd a Letter from my Spouse in *Ireland*, that I had the good News of his being very well, but had the bad News that his Business would not permit him to come away so soon as he expected, and so I was like to go back again without him.

My Landlady complimented me upon the good News however, that I had heard he was well, for I have observ'd Madam, *says she*, you han't been so pleasant as you us'd to be; you have been over Head and Ears in Care for him, I dare say, *says the good Woman*; 'tis easie to be seen there's an Alteration in you for the better, *says she*: Well, I am sorry the Esquire can't come yet, *says my Landlord*; I should have been heartily glad to have seen him, when you have certain News of his coming, you'll take a Step hither again, Madam, *says he*, you shall be very welcome whenever you please to come.

With all these fine Complements we parted, and I came merry enough to *London*, and found my Governess as well pleas'd as I was; and now she told me she would never recommend any Partner to me again, for she always found, *she said*, that I had the best Luck when I ventur'd by my self; and so indeed I had, for I was seldom in any Danger when I was by my self, or if I was, I got out of it with more Dexterity than when I was entangled with the dull Measures of other People, who had perhaps less forecast, and were more impatient than I; for tho' I had as much Courage to Venture as any of them, yet I us'd more Caution before I undertook a Thing, and had more Presence of Mind to bring my self off.

I have often wondered even at my own hardiness another way, that when all my Companions were surpriz'd, and fell so suddenly into the Hand of Justice, yet I could not all this while enter into one serious Resolution to leave off this Trade; and especially considering that I was now very far from being Poor, that the Temptation of Necessity, which is the general Introduction of all such Wickedness, was now removed; that I had near 500*l.* by me in ready Money, on which I might have liv'd very

well, if I had thought fit to have retir'd; but, *I say*, I had not so much as the least Inclination to leave off; no, not so much as I had before, when I had but 200*l.* beforehand, and when I had no such frightful Examples before my Eyes as these were: From hence 'tis evident, that when once we are harden'd in Crime, no Fear can affect us, no Example give us any Warning.

I had indeed one Comrade, whose Fate went very near me for a good while, tho' I wore it off too in Time, that Case was indeed very unhappy; I had made a Prize of a Piece of very good Damask in a *Mercer's* Shop, and went clear off my self; but had convey'd the Piece to this Companion of mine, when we went out of the Shop; and she went one way, I went another: We had not been long out of the Shop, but the *Mercer* mist the Piece of Stuff, and sent his Messengers, one, one way, and one another, and they presently seiz'd her that had the Piece, with the Damask upon her; as for me, I had very luckily stept into a House where there was a Lace Chamber, up one Pair of Stairs, and had the Satisfaction, or the Terror indeed of looking out of the Window, and seeing the poor Creature drag'd away to the Justice, who immediately committed her to *Newgate*.

I was careful to attempt nothing in the Lace-Chamber, but tumbl'd their Goods pretty much to spend Time; then bought a few Yards of Edging, and paid for it, and came away very sad Hearted indeed; for the poor Woman, who was in Tribulation, for what I only had stolen.

Here again my old Caution stood me in good stead; tho' I often robb'd with these People, yet I never let them know who I was; nor could they ever find out my Lodging, tho' they often endeavour'd to watch me to it. They all knew me by the Name of *Moll Flanders*, tho' even

some of them rather believ'd I was she, than knew me to be so; my Name was publick among them indeed; but how to find me out they knew not, nor so much as how to guess at my Quarters, whether they were at the East End of the Town, or the West; and this Wariness was my Safety upon all these Occasions.

I kept close a great while upon the Occasion of this Woman's Disaster; I knew that if I should do any thing that should miscarry, and should be carry'd to Prison she would be there, and ready to witness against me, and perhaps save her Life at my Expence; I consider'd that I began to be very well known by Name at the *Old Baily*, tho' they did not know my Face; and that if I should fall into their Hands, I should be treated as an old Offender; and for this Reason, I was resolv'd to see what this poor Creatures Fate should be before I stirr'd, tho' several times in her Distress I convey'd Money to her for her Relief.

At length she came to her Tryal, she pleaded she did not steal the Things; but that one Mrs. *Flanders* as she heard her call'd (for she did not know her) gave the Bundle to her after they came out of the Shop, and bad her carry it Home. They ask'd her where this Mrs. *Flanders* was? But she could not produce her, neither could she give the least Account of me; and the *Mercer's* Menswearers positively that she was in the Shop when the Goods were stolen; that they immediately miss'd them, and pursu'd her, and found them upon her; thereupon the Jury brought her in Guilty, but the Court considering that she really was not the Person that Stole the Goods, and that it was very possible she could not find out this Mrs. *Flanders*, meaning me, tho' it would save her Life, which indeed was true; they allow'd her to be Transported, which

was the utmost Favour she could obtain, only that the Court told her, if she could in the mean time produce the said Mrs. *Flanders*, they would intercede for her Pardon, that is to say, if she could find me out, and hang me, she should not be Transported: This I took care to make impossible to her, and so she was Shipp'd off in pursuance of her Sentence a little while after.

I must repeat it again, that the Fate of this poor Woman troubl'd me exceedingly; and I began to be very pensive, knowing that I was really the Instrument of her disaster; but my own Life, which was so evidently in Danger, took off my tenderness; and seeing she was not put to Death, I was easie at her Transportation, because she was then out of the way of doing me any Mischief whatever should happen.

The Disaster of this Woman was some Months before that of the last recited Story, and was indeed partly the Occasion of my Governess proposing to Dress me up in Men's Cloths, that I might go about unobserv'd; but I was soon tir'd of that Disguise, as *I have said*, for it expos'd me to too many Difficulties.

I was now easie, as to all Fear of Witnesses against me, for all those, that had either been concern'd with me, or that knew me by the Name of *Moll Flanders*, were either hang'd or Transported; and if I should have had the Misfortune to be taken, I might call myself any thing else, as well as *Moll Flanders*, and no old Sins could be plac'd to my Account; so I began to run a Tick again, with the more freedom, and several successful Adventures I made tho' not such as I had made before.

We had at that time another Fire happen'd not a great way off from the Place where my Governess liv'd, and I made an attempt there as before, but as I was not soon

enough before the Crowd of People came in, and could not get to the House I aim'd at; instead of a Prize, I got a mischief, which had almost put a Period to my Life and all my wicked doings together; for the Fire being very furious, and the People in a great Fright in removing their Goods, and throwing them out of Window; a Wench from out of a Window threw a Featherbed just upon me; it is true, the Bed being soft it broke no Bones: but as the weight was great, and made greater by the Fall, it beat me down, and laid me dead for a while: nor did the People concern themselves much to deliver me from it, or to recover me at all; but I lay like one Dead and neglected a good while; till some body going to remove the Bed out of the way, helped me up; it was indeed a wonder the People in the House had not thrown other Goods out after it, and which might have fallen upon it, and then I had been inevitably kill'd; but I was reserv'd for further Afflictions.

This Accident however spoil'd my Market for that time, and I came Home to my Governess very much hurt, and Frighted, and it was a good while before she could set me upon my Feet again.

It was now a Merry time of the Year, and *Bartholomew* Fair was begun; I had never made any Walks that Way, nor was the Fair of much Advantage to me; but I took a turn this Year into the Cloisters, and there I fell into one of the Raffling Shops: It was a thing of no great Consequence to me, but there came a Gentleman extreamly well Dress'd, and very Rich, and as 'tis frequent to talk to every Body in those Shops he singl'd me out, and was very particular with me; first he told me he would put in for me to Raffle, and did so; and some small matter coming to his Lot, he presented it to me, I think it was a Feather Muff: Then he continu'd to keep talking to me with

a more than common Appearance of Respect; but still very civil and much like a Gentleman.

He held me in talk so long, till at last he drew me out of the Raffling Place to the Shop-Door, and then to take a walk in the Cloister, still talking of a Thousand things Cursorily without any thing to the purpose: at last he told me that he was charm'd with my Company, and ask'd me if I durst trust myself in a Coach with him; he told me he was a Man of honour, and would not offer any thing to me unbecoming him: I seem'd to decline it a while, but suffer'd myself to be importun'd a little, and then yielded.

I was at a loss in my Thoughts to conclude at first what this Gentleman design'd; but I found afterward he had had some drink in his Head; and that he was not very unwilling to have some more: He carried me to the *Spring Garden*, at *Knights-Bridge*, where we walk'd in the Gardens, and he Treated me very handsomely; but I found he drank freely, he pressed me also to drink, but I declin'd it.

Hitherto he kept his Word with me, and offer'd me nothing amiss; we came away in the Coach again, and he brought me into the Streets, and by this time it was near Ten a Clock at Night, when he stop'd the Coach at a House, where it seems he was acquainted, and where they made no scruple to show us up Stairs into a Room with a Bed in it; at first I seem'd to be unwilling to go up, but after a few Words, I yielded to that too, being indeed willing to see the End of it, and in Hopes to make something of it at last; as for the Bed, &c., I was not much concern'd about that Part.

Here he began to be a little freer with me than he had promis'd; and I by little and little yielded to every thing, so that in a Word, he did what he pleas'd with me; I need

say no more: All this while he drank freely too, and about One in the Morning we went into the Coach again: The Air, and the shaking of the Coach made the Drink get more up in his Head, and he grew uneasy, and was for acting over again, what he had been doing before; but as I thought my Game now secure, I resisted, and brought him to be a little still, which had not lasted five Minutes, but he fell fast asleep.

I took this opportunity to search him to a Nicety; I took a gold Watch, with a silk Purse of Gold, his fine full bottom Perrewig, and silver fring'd Gloves, his Sword, and fine Snuff-box, and gently opening the Coach-door, stood ready to jump out while the Coach was going on; but the Coach stopping in the narrow Street beyond *Temple-Bar* to let another Coach pass, I got softly out, fasten'd the Door again, and gave my Gentleman and the Coach the slip together.

This was an Adventure indeed unlook'd for, and perfectly undesign'd by me; tho' I was not so past the Merry part of Life, as to forget how to behave, when a Fop so blinded by his Appetite should not know an old Woman from a young: I did not indeed look so old as I was by ten or twelve Year; yet I was not a young Wench of Seventeen, and it was easie enough to be distinguish'd: There is nothing so absurd, so surfeiting, so ridiculous as a man heated by Wine in his Head, and a wicked Gust in his Inclination together; he is in the possession of two Devils at once, and can no more govern himself by his Reason than a Mill can Grind without Water; Vice tramples upon all that was in him that had any good in it; nay, his very Sense is blinded by its own Rage, and he acts Absurdities even in his View; such is Drinking more, when he is Drunk already; picking up a common Woman, with-

out any regard to what she is, or who she is; whether Sound or Rotten, Clean or Unclean; whether Ugly or Handsome, Old or Young, and so blinded, as not really to distinguish; such a Man is worse than Lunatick; prompted by his vicious Head he no more knows what he is doing, than this Wretch of mine knew when I pick'd his Pocket of his Watch and his Purse of Gold.

These are the Men of whom *Solomon* says, *they go like an Ox to the slaughter, till a Dart strikes through their Liver*; an admirable Description, *by the way*, of the foul Disease, which is a poisonous deadly Contagion mingling with the Blood, whose Center or Fountain is in the Liver; from whence, by the swift Circulation of the whole Mass, that dreadful nauseous Plague strikes immediately thro' his Liver, and his Spirits are infected, his Vitals stab'd thro' as with a Dart.

It is true this poor unguarded Wretch was in no Danger from me, tho' I was greatly apprehensive at first, what Danger I might be in from him; but he was really to be pity'd in one respect that he seem'd to be a good sort of a Man in himself; a Gentleman that had no harm in his Design; a Man of Sense, and of a fine Behaviour; a comely handsome Person, a sober and solid Countenance, a charming beautiful Face, and every thing that cou'd be agreeable; only had unhappily had some Drink the Night before; had not been in Bed, as he told me when we were together; was hot, and his Blood fir'd with Wine, and in that Condition his Reason *as it were* asleep, had given him up.

As for me, my Business was his Money, and what I could make of him, and after that if I could have found out any way to have done it, I would have sent him safe home to his House, and to his Family, for 'twas ten to one

but he had an honest virtuous Wife, and innocent Children, that were anxious for his Safety, and would have been glad to have gotten him Home, and taken care of him, till he was restor'd to himself; and then with what Shame and Regret would he look back upon himself? how would he reproach himself with associating himself with a Whore? pick'd up in the worst of all Holes, the Cloister, among the Dirt and Filth of the Town? how would he be trembling for fear he had got the Pox, for fear a Dart had struck through his Liver, and hate himself every time he look'd back upon the Madness and Brutality of his Debauch? how would he, if he had any Principles of Honour, abhor the Thought of giving any ill Distemper, if he had it, as for ought he knew he might, to his Modest and Virtuous Wife, and thereby sowing the Contagion in the Life-Blood of his Posterity?

Would such Gentlemen but consider the contemptible Thoughts which the very Women they are concern'd with, in such Cases as these, have of them, it wou'd be a surfeit to them: As I said above, they value not the Pleasure, they are rais'd by no Inclination to the Man, the passive Jade thinks of no Pleasure but the Money; and when he is as it were drunk in the Extasies of his wicked Pleasure, her Hands are in his Pockets for what she can find there; and of which he can no more be sensible in the Moment of his Folly, than he can fore-think of it when he goes about it.

I knew a Woman that was so dexterous with a Fellow, who indeed deserv'd no better usage, that while he was busie with her another way, convey'd his Purse with twenty Guineas in it out of his Fob pocket, where he had put it for fear of her, and put another Purse with guilded Counters in it into the room of it: After he had done, he says to her, now han't you pick'd my Pocket? she jested

with him, and told him she suppos'd he had not much to loose; he put his Hand to his Fob, and with his Fingers felt that his Purse was there, which fully satisfy'd him, and so she brought off his Money; and this was a Trade with her, she kept a sham Gold Watch, and a Purse of Counters in her Pocket to be ready on all such Occasions; and I doubt not practis'd it with Success.

I came Home with this last Booty to my Governess, and really when I told her the Story, it so affected her, that she was hardly able to forbear Tears, to think how such a Gentleman run a daily Risque of being undone, every Time a Glass of Wine got into his Head.

But as to the Purchase I got, and how entirely I strip'd him, she told me it pleased her wonderfully; nay, Child, *says she*, the Usage may, for ought I know, do more to reform him, than all the Sermons that ever he will hear in his Life, and if the Remainder of the Story be true, so it did.

I found the next Day she was wonderful Inquisitive about this Gentleman; the Description I gave her of him, his Dress, his Person, his Face, all concurr'd to make her think of a Gentleman whose Character she knew; she mus'd awhile, and I going on in the Particulars, *says she*, I lay a Hundred Pound I know the Man.

I am sorry if you do, *says I*, for I would not have him expos'd on any Account in the World; he has had Injury enough already, and I would not be instrumental to do him any more: No, no, *says she*, I will do him no Injury, but you may let me satisfy my Curiosity a little, for if it is he, I warrant you I find it out: I was a little startled at that, and I told her with an apparent Concern in my Face, that by the same Rule he might find me out, and then I was undone: *She return'd warmly*, Why, do you think I will

betray you, Child? No, no, *says she*, not for all he is worth in the World; I have kept your Counsel in worse Things than these, sure you may trust me in this: So I said no more.

She laid her Scheme another way, and without acquainting me with it, but she was resolv'd to find it out; so she goes to a certain Friend of hers who was acquainted in the Family that she guess'd at, and told her she had some extraordinary Business with such a Gentleman, (who by the way was no less than a Baronet, and of a very good Family) and that she knew not how to come at him without somebody to introduce her: Her Friend promis'd her readily to do it, and accordingly goes to the House to see if the Gentleman was in Town.

The next Day, she comes to my Governess and tells her, that Sir ——— was at Home, but that he had met with a Disaster and was very ill, and there was no speaking to him; what Disaster, *says my Governess hastily*, as if she was surpriz'd at it? Why, *says her Friend*, he had been at *Hampstead* to Visit a Gentleman of his Acquaintance, and as he came back again he was set upon and Robb'd! and having got a little Drink too, as they suppose, the Rogues abus'd him, and he is very ill: Robb'd! *says my Governess*, and what did they take from him; why, *says her Friend*, they took his Gold Watch, and his Gold Snuff-box, his fine Perriwig, and what Money he had in his Pocket, which was considerable to be sure, for Sir ——— never goes without a Purse of Guineas about him.

Pshaw! *says my old Governess feering*, I warrant you, he has got Drunk now and got a Whore, and she has pick'd his Pocket, and so he comes Home to his Wife and tells her he has been robb'd; that's an old Sham, a thousand such Tricks are put upon the poor Women every Day.

FYE, *says her Friend*, I find you don't know Sir ———, why, he is as Civil a Gentleman, there is not a finer man, nor a soberer, modester Person in the whole City; he abhors such things, there's no Body that knows him will think such a thing of him: Well, well, *says my Governess*, that's none of my Business, if it was, I warrant I should find there was something of that in it; your modest Men in common Opinion are sometimes no better than other People, only they keep a better Character, or if you please, are the better Hypocrites.

No, no, *says her Friend*, I can assure you Sir ——— is no Hypocrite, he is really an honest, sober Gentleman, and he has certainly been Robb'd: Nay, *says my Governess*, it may be he has, it is no Business of mine I tell you; I only want to speak with him, my Business is of another Nature; but, *says her Friend*, let your Business be of what nature it will, you cannot see him yet, for he is not fit to be seen, for he is very ill, and bruised very much: Ay, *says my Governess*, nay then he has fallen into bad Hands to be sure; and then she ask'd gravely, pray where is he bruised? Why in his Head, *says her Friend*, and one of his Hands, and his Face, for they us'd him barbarously. Poor Gentleman, *says my Governess*, I must wait then till he recovers, and adds, I hope it will not be long.

Away she comes to me and tells me this story, I have found out your fine Gentleman, and a fine Gentleman he was, *says she*, but, Mercy on him, he is in a sad Pickle now, I wonder what the Devil you have done to him; why you have almost kill'd him: I look'd at her with disorder enough; I kill'd him! *says I*, you must mistake the Person, I am sure I did nothing to him, he was very well when I left him, *said I*, only drunk and fast asleep; I

know nothing of that, *says she*, but he is in a sad pickle now, and so she told me all that her Friend had said: Well then, *says I*, he fell into bad Hands after I left him, for I left him safe enough.

About ten Days after, my Governess goes again to her Friend, to introduce her to this Gentleman; she had enquir'd otherways in the mean time, and found that he was about again, so she got leave to speak with him.

She was a Woman of an admirable Address, and wanted no Body to introduce her; she told her Tale much better than I shall be able to tell it for her, for she was Mistress of her Tongue, as I said already: She told him that she came, tho' a Stranger, with a single design of doing him a Service, and he should find she had no other End in it; that as she came purely on so Friendly an Account, she beg'd a promise from him, that if he did not accept what she should officiously propose, he would not take it ill that she meddl'd with what was not her Business; she assur'd him that as what she had to say was a Secret that belong'd to him only, so whether he accepted her offer or not, it should remain a Secret to all the World, unless he expos'd it himself; nor should his refusing her Service in it, make her so little show her Respect, as to do him the least Injury, so that he should be entirely at liberty to act as he thought fit.

He look'd very shy at first, and said he knew nothing that related to him that requir'd much secresie; that he had never done any Man any wrong, and car'd not what any Body might say of him; that it was no part of his Character to be unjust to any Body, nor could he imagine in what any Man cou'd render him any Service; but that if it was as she said, he could not take it ill from any one

that should endeavour to serve him; and so, as it were, left her at liberty either to tell him, or not to tell him, as she thought fit.

She found him so perfectly indifferent, that she was almost afraid to enter into the point with him; but however, after some other Circumlocutions, she told him, that by a strange and unaccountable Accident she came to have a particular knowledge of the late unhappy Adventure he had fallen into; and that in such a manner, that there was no Body in the World but herself and him, that were acquainted with it, no not the very Person that was with him.

He look'd a little angrily at first, what Adventure? *said he*; why Sir, *said she*, of your being Robb'd coming from *Knightsbr—, Hampstead*, Sir I should say, *says she*: be not surpris'd, Sir, *says she*, that I am able to tell you every step you took that Day from the *Cloyster in Smithfield*, to the *Spring-garden at Knightsbridge*, and thence to the — in the *Strand*, and how you were left asleep in the Coach afterwards; I say let not this surprize you, for Sir I do not come to make a Booty of you, I ask nothing of you, and I assure you the Woman that was with you knows nothing who you are, and never shall; and yet perhaps I may serve you farther still, for I did not come barely to let you know, that I was inform'd of these things, as if I wanted a Bribe to conceal them; assure your self, Sir, *said she*, that whatever you think fit to do or say to me, it shall be all a secret as it is, as much as if I were in my Grave.

He was astonish'd at her Discourse, and said gravely to her, Madam, you are a Stranger to me, but it is very unfortunate, that you should be let into the Secret of the worst action of my Life, and a thing that I am justly a sham'd of, in which the only satisfaction I had was, that

I thought it was known only to God and my own Conscience: Pray, Sir, *says she*, do not reckon the Discovery of it to me, to be any part of your Misfortune; it was a thing, I believe, you were surprised into, and perhaps the Woman us'd some Art to prompt you to it; however, you will never find any just Cause, *said she*, to repent that I came to hear of it; nor can your Mouth be more silent in it than I have been, and ever shall be.

Well, *says he*, but let me do some Justice to the Woman too, whoever she is, I do assure you she prompted me to nothing, she rather declin'd me; it was my own Folly and Madness that brought me into it all, ay and brought her into it too; I must give her her due so far: As to what she took from me, I cou'd expect no less from her in the condition I was in, and to this Hour I know not whether she Robbed me or the Coachman; if she did it I forgive her, I think all Gentlemen that do so, should be us'd in the same manner; but I am more concern'd for some other things, than I am for all that she took from me.

My Governess now began to come into the whole matter, and he open'd himself freely to her; first, she said to him, in answer to what he had said about me, I am glad Sir you are so just to the Person that you were with; I assure you she is a Gentlewoman, and no Woman of the Town; and however you prevail'd with her as you did, I am sure 'tis not her Practice; you run a great venture indeed, Sir, but if that be part of your Care, you may be perfectly easie, for I do assure you no Man has touch'd her, before you, since her Husband; and he has been dead now almost eight Year.

It appear'd that this was his Grievance, and that he was in a very great fright about it; however, when my Governess said this to him, he appeared very well pleas'd;

and said, well, Madam, to be plain with you, if I was satisfy'd of that, I should not so much value what I lost; for as to that, the Temptation was great, and perhaps she was poor and wanted it: If she had not been poor *Sir says she*, I assure you she would never have yielded to you; and as her Poverty first prevail'd with her to let you do as you did, so the same Poverty prevail'd with her to pay her self at last, when she saw you was in such a Condition, that if she had not done it, perhaps the next Coachman or Chairman might have done it more to your Hurt.

Well, *says he*, much good may it do her; I say again, all the Gentlemen that do so, ought to be us'd in the same manner, and then they would be cautious of themselves; I have no more concern about it, but on the score which you hinted at before: Here he entred into some freedoms with her on the Subject of what pass'd between us, which are not so proper for a Woman to write, and the great Terror that was upon his Mind with relation to his Wife, for fear she should have receiv'd any Injury from me, and should communicate it farther; and ask'd her at last if she cou'd not procure him an opportunity to speak with me; my Governess gave him farther assurances of my being a Woman clear from any such thing, and that he was as entirely safe in that respect, as he was with his own Lady; but as for seeing me, she said it might be of dangerous Consequence; but however, that she would talk with me, and let him know; endeavouring at the same time to persuade him not to desire it, and that it cou'd be of no Service to him; seeing she hop'd he had no desire to renew the Correspondence, and that on my account it was a kind of putting my Life in his Hands.

He told her, he had a great desire to see me, that he would give her any assurances that were in his Power, not

to take any Advantages of me, and that in the first place he would give me a general release from all Demands of any kind; she insisted how it might tend to farther divulging the Secret, and might be injurious to him, entreating him not to press for it, so at length he desisted.

They had some Discourse upon the Subject of the things he had lost, and he seem'd to be very desirous of his Gold Watch, and told her if she cou'd procure that for him, he would willingly give as much for it, as it was worth; she told him she would endeavour to procure it for him and leave the valuing it to himself.

Accordingly the next Day she carried the Watch, and he gave her 30 Guineas for it, which was more than I should have been able to make of it, tho' it seems it cost much more; he spoke something of his Perriwig, which it seems cost him three-score Guineas, and his Snuff-box, and in a few Days more, she carried them too; which oblig'd him very much, and he gave her Thirty more, the next Day I sent him his fine Sword, and Cane *gratis*, and demanded nothing of him, but had no mind to see him, unless he might be satisfy'd I knew who he was, which he was not willing to.

Then he entered into a long Talk with her of the manner how she came to know all this matter; she form'd a long Tale of that part; how she had it from one, that I had told the whole Story to, and that was to help me dispose of the Goods; and this Confident brought Things to her, she being by Profession a *Pawn-Broker*; and she hearing of his Worship's disaster, guess'd at the thing in general; that having gotten the Things into her Hands, she had resolv'd to come and try as she had done: She then gave him repeated Assurances that it should never go out of her Mouth, and tho' she knew the Woman very well, yet

she had not let her know, *meaning me*, any thing of who the Person was, which by the way was false; but however it was not to his Damage, for I never open'd my Mouth of it to any Body.

I had a great many Thoughts in my Head about my seeing him again, and was often sorry that I had refus'd it; I was perswaded that if I had seen him, and let him know that I knew him, I should have made some Advantage of him, and perhaps have had some Maintenance from him; and tho' it was a Life wicked enough, yet it was not so full of Danger as this I was engag'd in: However those Thoughts wore off, and I declin'd seeing him again, for that Time; but my Governess saw him often, and he was very kind to her, giving her something almost every time he saw her; one time in particular she found him very Merry, and as she thought he had some Wine in his Head then, and he press'd her again to let him see that Woman, that, *as he said*, had bewitch'd him so that Night; my Governess, who was from the Beginning for my seeing him, told him, he was so desirous of it, that she could almost yield to it, if she could prevail upon me; adding that if he would please to come to her House in the Evening, she would endeavour it, upon his repeated Assurances of forgetting what was past.

Accordingly she came to me and told me all the Discourse; *in short*, she soon byass'd me to consent, in a Case which I had some regret in my Mind for declining before; so I prepar'd to see him; I dress'd me to all the Advantage possible I assure you, and for the first time us'd a little Art, I say for the first Time, for I had never yielded to the baseness of Paint before, having always had Vanity enough to believe I had no need of it.

At the Hour appointed he came; and as she observ'd

before, so it was plain still, that he had been drinking, tho' very far from what we call being in Drink: He appear'd exceeding pleas'd to see me, and enter'd into a long Discourse with me, upon the old Affair; I beg'd his Pardon very often, for my Share of it, protested I had not any such Design when first I met him, that I had not gone out with him, but that I took him for a very civil Gentleman, and that he made me so many Promises of offering no Uncivility to me.

He alledg'd the Wine he drank, and that he scarce knew what he did, and that if it had not been so, he should never have taken the freedom with me he had done: He protested to me that he never touch'd any Woman but me, since he was marry'd to his Wife, and it was a Surprise upon him; Complimented me upon being so particularly agreeable to him, and the like, and talk'd so much of that kind, 'till I found he had talk'd himself almost into a Temper to do the thing again: But I took him up short, I protested I had never suffer'd any Man to touch me since my Husband died, which was near eight Year; he said he believ'd it; and added, that Madam, had intimated as much to him, and that it was his Opinion of that part which made him desire to see me again; and since he had once broken in upon his Virtue with me, and found no ill Consequences, he could be safe in venturing again; and so in short he went on, to what I expected, and to what will not bear relating.

My old Governess had foreseen it, as well as I, and therefore led him into a Room which had not a Bed in it, and yet had a Chamber within it, which had a Bed, whither we withdrew for the rest of the Night, and in short, after some time being together; he went to Bed, and lay there all Night, I withdrew, but came again un-

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dress'd before it was Day, and lay with him the rest of the Time.

Thus you see having committed a Crime once, is a sad Handle to the committing of it again; all the Reflections wear off when the Temptation renews itself; had I not yielded to see him again, the corrupt Desire in him had worn off, and 'tis very probable he had never fallen into it, with any Body else, as I really believe he had not done before.

When he went away, I told him I hop'd he was satisfy'd he had not been robb'd again; he told me he was fully satisfy'd in that Point; and putting his Hand in his Pocket gave me five Guineas, which was the first Money I had gain'd that way for many Years.

I had several Visits of the like Kind from him, but he never came into a settled way of Maintenance, which was what I would have been best pleas'd with: Once, indeed, he ask'd me how I did to live, I answer'd him pretty quick, that I assur'd him I had never taken that Course that I took with him; but that indeed I work'd at my Needle, and could just Maintain my self, that sometimes it was as much as I was able to do, and I shifted hard enough.

He seem'd to reflect upon himself, that he should be the first Person to lead me into that, which he assur'd me he never intended to do himself; and it touch'd him a little, *he said*, that he should be the Cause of his own Sin, and mine too: He would often make just Reflections, also upon the Crime itself, and upon the particular Circumstances of it, with respect to himself; how Wine introduc'd the Inclinations, how the Devil led him to the Place, and found out an Object to tempt him, and he made the Moral always himself.

When these Thoughts were upon him, he would go

away, and perhaps not come again in a Months time or longer; but then as the serious Part wore off, the lewd Part would wear in, and then he came prepar'd for the wicked Part; thus we liv'd for some Time; tho' he did not KEEP, as they call it, yet he never fail'd doing things that were handsome, and sufficient to maintain me without Working, and which was better, without following my old Trade.

But this Affair had its End too; for after about a Year, I found that he did not come so often as usual, and at last he left it off altogether without any Dislike, or bidding adieu; and so there was an End of that short Scene of Life, which added no great Store to me, only to make more Work for Repentance.

During this Interval, I confin'd my self pretty much at Home; at least being thus provided for, I made no Adventures, no not for a Quarter of a Year after; but then finding the Fund fail, and being loath to spend upon the main Stock, I began to think of my old Trade, and to look abroad into the Street; and my first Step was lucky enough.

I had dress'd myself up in a very mean Habit, for as I had several Shapes to appear in, I was now in an ordinary Stuff Gown, a blue Apron and a Straw Hat; and I plac'd myself at the Door of the three Cups Inn in St. *John's-street*: There were several Carriers us'd the Inn, and the Stage Coaches for *Barnet*, for *Toteridge*, and other Towns that Way, stood always in the Street, in the Evening, when they prepar'd to set out; so that I was ready for any thing that offer'd: The Meaning was this, People come frequently with Bundles and small Parcels to those Inns, and call for such Carriers, or Coaches as they want; to carry them into the Country; and there generally attends

Women, Porter's Wives or Daughters, ready to take in such things for the People that employ them.

It happen'd very odly that I was standing at the Inn-Gate, and a Woman that stood there before, and which was the Porter's Wife belonging to the *Barnet* Stage Coach, having observ'd me, ask'd if I waited for any of the Coaches; I told her yes, I waited for my Mistress, that was coming to go to *Barnet*; she ask'd me who was my Mistress, and I told her any Madam's Name that came next me; but it seem'd I happen'd upon a Name, a Family of which Name liv'd at *Hadly* near *Barnet*.

I said no more to her, or she to me a good while, but by and by, some Body calling her at a Door a little way off, she desir'd me that if any Body call'd for the *Barnet* Coach, I would step and call her at the House, which it seems was an Ale-house; I said yes, very readily, and away she went.

She was no sooner gone; but comes a Wench and a Child, puffing and sweating, and asks for the *Barnet* Coach, I answer'd presently, *here*. Do you belong to the *Barnet* Coach? *says she*. Yes, Sweetheart, *said I*, What do you want? I want Room for two Passengers, *says she*. Where are they Sweetheart? *said I*. Here's this Girl, pray let her go into the Coach, *says she*, and I'll go and fetch my Mistress; make haste then Sweet-heart, *says I*, for we may be full else. The Maid had a great Bundle under her Arm; so she put the Child into the Coach; and *I said*, you had best put your Bundle into the Coach too; No, *said she*, I am afraid some Body should slip it away from the Child; give it me then, *said I*; take it then, *says she*, and be sure you take care of it; I'll answer for it, *said I*, if it were Twenty Pound vallue. There take it then, *says she*, and away she goes.

As soon as I got the Bundle, and the Maid was out of Sight, I goes on towards the Ale-house, where the Porter's Wife was, so that if I met her, I had then only been going to give her the Bundle and to call her to her Business, as if I was going away, and could stay no longer; but as I did not meet her I walk'd away, and turning into *Charter-house-Lane*, made off thro' *Charter-house-Yard*, into *Long-Lane*, then into *Bartholomew-Close*, so into *Little Britain*, and thro' the *Blue-Coat-Hospital*, to *Newgate-Street*.

To prevent being known, I pull'd off my blue Apron, and wrapt the Bundle in it, which was made up in a Piece of painted Callico; I also wrapt up my Straw Hat in it, and so put the Bundle upon my Head; and it was very well, that I did thus, for coming thro' the *Blue-Coat-Hospital*, who should I meet but the Wench, that had given me the Bundle to hold; it seems she was going with her Mistress, who she had been to fetch to the the *Barnet Coaches*.

I saw she was in haſt, and I had no Business to stop her; so away she went, and I brought my Bundle safe to my Governess; there was no Money, Plate, or Jewels in it; but a very good Suit of *Indian Damask*, a Gown and Petticoat, a lac'd Head and Ruffles of very good *Flanders Lace*, and some other Things, such as I knew very well the Value of.

This was not indeed, my own Invention, but was given me by one that had practis'd it with Success, and my Governess lik'd it extreamly; and indeed, I try'd it again several times, tho' never twice near the same Place; for the next time I try'd in *White Chappel*, just by the corner of *Petti-Coat-Lane*, where the Coaches stand that go out to *Stratford* and *Bow*, and that Side of the Country; and

another time at the *Flying-Horse* without *Bishopsgate*, where the *Cheston* Coaches then lay, and I had always the good Luck to come off with some Booty.

Another time I placed myself at a Warehouse by the Water-side, where the Coasting Vessels from the *North* come, such as *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, *Sunderland*, and other Places; here the Warehouse, being shut, comes a young Fellow with a Letter; and he wanted a Box, and a Hamper that was come from *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, I ask'd him if he had the Marks of it, so he shows me the Letter, by Vertue of which he was to ask for it, and which gave an Account of the Contents, the Box being full of Linnen, and the Hamper full of Glass-Ware; I read the Letter, and took Care to see the Name, and the Marks, the Name of the Person that sent the Goods, and the Name of the Person they were sent to; then I bad the Messenger come in the Morning, for that the Warehouse-Keeper would not be there any more that Night.

Away went I, and wrote a Letter from Mr. *John Richardson* of *New-Castle* to his dear Cousin *Jemy Cole*, in *London*, with an Account that he had sent by such a Vessel (for I remembered all the Particulars to a Tittle), so many Pieces of Huckaback Linnen, and so many Ells of *Dutch* Holland, and the Like, in a Box, and a Hamper of Flint-Glasses from Mr. *Henzill's* Glass-house; and that the Box was marked I. C. No. 1., and the Hamper was directed by a Label on the Cording.

About an hour after, I came to the Warehouse, found the Warehouse-Keeper, and had the Goods deliver'd me without any Scruple; the Value of the Linnen being about 22 Pound.

I could fill up this whole Discourse with the Variety of such Adventures, which daily Invention directed to, and

which I manag'd with the utmost Dexterity, and always with Success.

At length, as when does the Pitcher come safe Home that goes so often to the Well, I fell into some Broils, which tho' they could not affect me fatally, yet made me known, which was the worst thing next to being found Guilty, that could befall me.

I had taken up the Disguise of a Widow's Dress; it was without any real Design in View, but only waiting for any thing that might offer, as I often did: It happen'd that while I was going along a Street in *Covent-Garden*, there was a great Cry of stop Thief, stop Thief; some Artists had it seems put a Trick upon a Shop-keeper, and being pursued, some of them fled one way, and some another; and one of them was, they said, dress'd up in Widow's Weeds, upon which the Mob gather'd about me, and some said I was the Person, others said no, immediately came the Mercer's Journey-man, and he swore aloud I was the Person, and so seiz'd on me; however, when I was brought back by the Mob to the Mercer's Shop, the Master of the House said freely that I was not the Woman; and would have let me go immediately; but another fellow said gravely, pray stay till Mr. ———, *meaning the Journeyman*, comes back, for he knows her; so they kept me near half an Hour; they had call'd a Constable, and he stood in the Shop as my Jayler; in talking with the Constable I enquir'd where he liv'd, and what Trade he was; the Man not apprehending in the least what happen'd afterwards, readily told me his Name, and where he liv'd; and told me as a Jest, that I might be sure to hear of his Name when I came to the *Old-Bayly*.

The Servants likewise us'd me saucily, and had much ado to keep their Hands off me, the Master indeed was

civiler to me than they; but he would not let me go, tho' he own'd I was not in his Shop before.

I began to be a little surly with him, and told him I hop'd he would not take it ill, if I made my self amends upon him another time; and desir'd I might send for Friends to see me have right done: No, *he said*, he could give no such liberty, I might ask it when I came before the Justice of Peace, and seeing I threaten'd him, he would take care of me in the mean time, and would lodge me safe in *Newgate*: I told him it was his time now, but it would be mine by and by, and govern'd my Passion as well as I was able, however, I spoke to the Constable to call me a Porter, which he did, and then I call'd for Pen, Ink, and Paper, but they would let me have none; I ask'd the Porter his Name, and where he liv'd, and the poor Man told it me very willingly; I bad him observe and remember how I was treated there; that he saw I was detain'd there by Force; I told him I should want him in another Place, and it should not be the worse for him to speak; the Porter said he would serve me with all his Heart; but, Madam, *says he*, let me hear them refuse to let you go, then I may be able to speak the plainer.

With that, I spoke aloud to the Master of the Shop, and said, Sir, you know in your own Conscience that I am not the Person you look for, and that I was not in your Shop before, therefore I demand that you detain me here no longer, or tell me the reason of your stopping me; the Fellow grew surlier upon this than before, and said he would do neither till he thought fit; very well, said I to the Constable and to the Porter, you will be pleas'd to remember this, Gentlemen, another time; the Porter said, *yes, Madam*, and the Constable began not to like it, and would have perswaded the Mercer to dismiss him, and

let me go, since, as he said, he own'd I was not the Person; Good Sir, *says the Mercer to him Tauntingly*, are you a Justice of Peace, or a Constable? I charg'd you with her, pray do your Duty: The Constable told him a little mov'd, but very handsomely, *I know my duty, and what I am, Sir; I doubt you know hardly what you are doing*; they had some other hard words, and in the mean time the Journey-men, impudent and unmanly to the last degree, used me barbarously, and one of them, the same that first seiz'd upon me, pretended he would search me, and began to lay Hands on me: I spit in his Face, call'd out to the Constable, and bad him take notice of my usage; and pray, Mr. Constable, *said I*, ask that Villain's Name, pointing to the Man; the Constable reprov'd him decently, told him that he did not know what he did, for he knew that his Master acknowledg'd I was not the Person; and says the Constable, I am afraid your Master is bringing himself and me too into Trouble, if this Gentlewoman comes to prove who she is, and where she was, and it appears that she is not the Woman you pretend to; Dam her, *says the Fellow again*, with an impudent harden'd Face, she is the Lady you may depend upon it, I'll swear she is the same Body that was in the Shop, and that I gave the pieces of Satin that is lost into her own Hand, you shall hear more of it when Mr. *William* and Mr. *Anthony*, *those were other Journeymen*, come back, they will know her again as well as I.

Just as the insolent Rogue was talking thus to the Constable, comes back Mr. *William* and Mr. *Anthony*, as he call'd them, and a great Rabble with them, bringing along with them the true Widow that I was pretended to be; and they came sweating and blowing into the Shop, and with a great deal of Triumph dragging the poor Creature

in a most butcherly manner up towards their Master, who was in the back Shop, and they cry'd out aloud, here's the Widow, Sir, we have catched her at last; what do you mean by that, *says the Master*, why we have her already, there she sits, and Mr. ——— *says he* can swear this is she: The other Man who they call'd Mr. *Anthony* reply'd; Mr. ——— may say what he will, and swear what he will, but this is the Woman, and there's the Remnant of Sattin she stole, I took it out of her Cloaths with my own Hand.

I now began to take a better Heart, but smil'd and said nothing; the Master look'd Pale; the Constable turn'd about and look'd at me; *let 'em alone*, Mr. *Constable*, said I, *let 'em go on*; the Case was plain and could not be denied, so the Constable was charg'd with the right Thief, and the Mercer told me very civilly he was sorry for the Mistake, and hop'd I would not take it ill; that they had so many Things of this nature put upon them every Day, that they could not be blam'd for being very sharp in doing themselves Justice: Not take it ill, Sir, *said I*; how can I take it well? if you had dismiss'd me when your insolent Fellow seiz'd on me in the Street, and brought me to you; and when you yourself acknowledg'd I was not the Person, I wou'd have put it by, and not have taken it ill, because of the many ill things I believe you have put upon you daily; but your Treatment of me since has been unsufferable, and especially that of your Servant, I must and will have Reparation for that.

Then he began to parly with me, said he would make me any reasonable Satisfaction, and would fain have had me told him what it was I expected; I told him I should not be my own Judge, the Law should decide it for me, and as I was to be carried before a Magistrate, I should

let him hear there what I had to say; he told me there was no occasion to go before the Justice now, I was at liberty to go where I pleased, and calling to the Constable told him, he might let me go, or I was discharg'd; the Constable said calmly to him, Sir, you ask'd me just now, if I knew whether I was a Constable or a Justice, and bad me do my Duty, and charg'd me with this Gentlewoman as a Prisoner; now Sir, I find you do not understand what is my Duty, for you would make me a Justice indeed; but I must tell you it is not in my Power: I may keep a Prisoner when I am charg'd with him, but 'tis the Law and the Magistrate alone that can discharge that Prisoner; therefore 'tis a Mistake Sir, I must carry her before a Justice now, whether you think well of it or not: The Mercer was very high with the Constable at first; but the Constable happening to be not a hir'd Officer, but a good, Substantial kind of Man, I think he was a Corn-chandler, and a Man of good Sense stood to his Business, would not discharge me without going to a Justice of the Peace, and I insisted upon it too: When the Mercer see that; well, *says he to the Constable*, you may carry her where you please, I have nothing to say to her; but Sir, *says the Constable*, you will go with us, I hope, for 'tis you that charg'd me with her; no not I, *says the Mercer*, I tell you, I have nothing to say to her: But pray Sir do, *says the Constable*, I desire it of you for your own sake, for the Justice can do nothing without you: Prithee Fellow, *says the Mercer*, go about your Business, I tell you I have nothing to say to the Gentlewoman, I charge you in the King's Name to dismiss her: Sir, *says the Constable*, I find you don't know what it is to be a Constable, I beg of you don't oblige me to be rude to you: I think I need not, you are rude enough already, *says the Mercer*: No, Sir, *says the Constable*, I am

not rude, you have broken the Peace in bringing an honest Woman out of the Street, when she was about her lawful Occasions, confining her in your Shop, and ill using her here by your Servants; and now can you say I am rude to you? I think I am civil to you in not commanding you in the King's Name to go with me, and charging every Man I see, that passes your Door, to aid and assist me in carrying you by Force; this you know I have power to do, and yet I forbear it, and once more entreat you to go with me: Well, he would not for all this, and gave the Constable ill Language: However, the Constable kept his Temper, and would not be provok'd; and then I put in and said, come, Mr. Constable let him alone, I shall find ways enough to fetch him before a Magistrate, I don't fear that; but there's that Fellow, *says I*, he was the Man that seized on me, as I was innocently going along the Street, and you are a Witness of his Violence with me since, give me leave to charge you with him, and carry him before a Justice; yes, Madam, *says the Constable*; and turning to the Fellow, come young Gentleman, *says he to the Journeyman*, you must go along with us, I hope you are not above the Constable's Power, tho' your Master is.

The Fellow look'd like a condemn'd Thief, and hung back, then look'd at his Master, as if he cou'd help him; and he, like a Fool, encourag'd the Fellow to be rude, and he truly resisted the Constable, and push'd him back with a good Force when he went to lay hold on him, at which the Constable knock'd him down, and call'd out for help, immediately the Shop was fill'd with People, and the Constable seiz'd the Master and Man, and all his Servants.

The first ill Consequence of this Fray was, that the Woman, who was really the Thief, made off, and got

clear away in the Crowd; and two others that they had stop'd also, whether they were really Guilty or not, that I can say nothing to.

By this time some of his Neighbours having come in, and seeing how things went, had endeavour'd to bring the Mercer to his Senses; and he began to be convinc'd that he was in the wrong; and so at length we went all very quietly before the Justice, with a Mob of about 500 People at our Heels; and all the way we went I could hear the People ask what was the matter? and others reply and say, a Mercer had stop'd a Gentlewoman instead of a Thief, and had afterwards taken the Thief, and now the Gentlewoman had taken the Mercer, and was carrying him before the Justice; this pleas'd the People strangely, and made the Crowd encrease, and they cry'd out as they went, which is the Rogue? which is the Mercer? and especially the Women, then when they saw him they cryed out, *that's he, that's he*; and every now and then came a good dab of Dirt at him; and thus we march'd a good while, till the Mercer thought fit to desire the Constable to call a Coach to protect himself from the Rabble; so we Rode the rest of the way, the Constable and I, and the Mercer and his Man.

When we came to the Justice, which was an ancient Gentleman in *Bloomsbury*, the Constable giving first a summary account of the Matter, the Justice bad me speak, and tell what I had to say; and first he asked my Name, which I was very loath to give, but there was no remedy, so I told him my Name was *Mary Flanders*, that I was a Widow, my Husband being a Sea Captain, dyed on a Voyage to *Virginia*; and some other Circumstances I told, which he cou'd never contradict, and that I lodg'd at present in Town, with such a Person, naming my Governess;

but that I was preparing to go over to *America*, where my Husband's Effects lay, and that I was going that Day to buy some Cloaths to put my self into second Mourning, but had not yet been in any Shop, when that Fellow, pointing to the Mercer's Journeyman came rushing upon me with such fury, as very much frightened me, and carried me back to his Master's Shop; where tho' his Master acknowledg'd I was not the Person; yet he would not dismiss me, but charg'd a Constable with me.

Then I proceeded to tell how the Journeymen treated me; how they would not suffer me to send for any of my Friends; how afterwards they found the real Thief, and took the Goods they had Lost upon her, and all the particulars as before.

Then the Constable related his Case; his Dialogue with the *Mercer* about Discharging me, and at last his Servants refusing to go with him, when I had Charg'd him with him, and his Master encouraging him to do so; and at last his striking the Constable, and the like, all as I have told it already.

The Justice then heard, the *Mercer* and his Man; the *Mercer* indeed made a long Harangue of the great loss they have daily by the Lifters and Thieves; that it was easy for them to Mistake, and that when he found it, he would have dismiss'd me, &c. as above, as to the Journeyman he had very little to say, but that he pretended other of the Servants told him, that I was really the Person.

Upon the whole, the Justice first of all told me very courteously I was discharg'd; that he was very sorry that the *Mercer's* Man should in his eager pursuit have so little Discretion, as to take up an innocent Person for a guilty; that if he had not been so unjust as to detain me afterwards; he believ'd I would have forgiven the first Affront;

that however it was not in his Power to award me any Reparation, other, than by openly reprovng them, which he should do; but he suppos'd I would apply to such Methods as the Law directed; in the mean time he would bind him over.

But as to the Breach of the Peace committed by the Journeyman, he told me he should give me some satisfaction for that, for he should commit him to *Newgate* for Assaulting the Constable, and for Assaulting of me also.

Accordingly he sent the Fellow to *Newgate*, for that Assault, and his Master gave Bail, and so we came away; but I had the satisfaction of seeing the Mob wait upon them both, as they came out, Holooing, and throwing Stones and Dirt at the Coaches they rode in, and so I came Home.

After this hustle, coming home, and telling my Governess the Story, she falls a Laughing at me; Why are you so merry, *says I?* the Story has not so much Laughing room in it, as you imagine; I am sure I have had a great deal of Hurry and Fright too, with a Pack of ugly Rogues. *Laugh*, says my Governess, I laugh Child to see what a lucky Creature you are; why this Jobb will be the best Bargain to you, that ever you made in your Life, if you manage it well: I warrant you, you shall make the *Mercer* pay 500*l.* for Damages, besides what you shall get of the Journeyman.

I had other Thoughts of the Matter than she had; and especially, because I had given in my Name to the Justice of Peace; and I knew that my Name was so well known among the People at *Hicks's-Hall*, the *Old Baily*, and such Places, that if this Cause came to be try'd openly, and my Name came to be enquir'd into, no Court would give much Damages, for the Reputation of a Person of such a

Character; however, I was oblig'd to begin a Prosecution in Form, and accordingly my Governess found me out a very creditable sort of a Man to manage it, being an Attorney of very good Business, and of good Reputation, and she was certainly in the right of this; for had she employ'd a petty Fogging hedge Solicitor, or a Man not known, I should have brought it to but little.

I met this Attorney, and gave him all the particulars at large, as they are recited above; and he assur'd me, it was a Case, *as he said*, that he did not Question, but that a Jury would give very considerable Damages; so taking his full Instructions, he began the Prosecution, and the *Mercer* being Arrested, gave Bail; a few Days after his giving Bail, he comes with his Attorney to my Attorney, to let him know, that he desir'd to Accomodate the matter, that it was all carried on in the Heat of an unhappy Passion; that his Client, *meaning me*, had a sharp provoking Tongue, and that I us'd them ill, gibbing at them, and jeering them, even while they believed me to be the very Person, and that I had provok'd them, and the like.

My Attorney manag'd as well on my Side; made them believe I was a Widow of Fortune, that I was able to do myself Justice, and had great Friends to stand by me too, who had all made me promise to Sue to the utmost, if it cost me a Thousand Pound, for that the Affronts I had receiv'd were insufferable.

However they brought my Attorney to this, that he promis'd he would not blow the Coals, that if I enclin'd to an Accommodation, he would not hinder me, and that he would rather perswade me to Peace than to War; for which they told him he should be no looser, all which he told me very honestly, and told me that if they offer'd him any Bribe, I should certainly know it; but upon the whole

he told me very honestly that if I would take his Opinion—he would Advise me to make it up, with them; for that as they were in a great Fright, and were desirous above all things to make it up, and knew that let it be what it would, they must bear all the Costs; he believed they would give me freely more than any Jury would give upon a Trial: I ask'd him what he thought they would be brought to; he told me he could not tell, as to that; but he would tell me more when I saw him again.

Some time after this, they came again, to know if he had talk'd with me: He told them he had, that he found me not so Averse to an Accommodation as some of my Friends were, who resented the Disgrace offer'd me, and set me on; that they blow'd the Coals in secret, prompting me to Revenge, or to do myself Justice, as they call'd it; so that he could not tell what to say to it; he told them he would do his endeavour to persuade me, but he ought to be able to tell me what Proposal they made: They pretended they could not make any Proposal because it might be made use of against them; and he told them, that by the same Rule he could not make any offers, for that might be pleaded in Abatement of what Damages a Jury might be inclin'd to give: However, after some Discourse and mutual Promises that no Advantage should be taken on either Side, by what was transacted then, or at any other of those Meetings, they came to a kind of a Treaty; but so remote, and so wide from one another, that nothing could be expected from it; for my Attorney demanded 500*l.* and Charges, and they offer'd 50*l.* without Charges; so they broke off, and the *Mercer* propos'd to have a Meeting with me myself; and my Attorney agreed to that very readily.

My Attorney gave me Notice to come to this Meeting

in good Cloaths, and with some State, that the *Mercer* might see I was something more than I seem'd to be that time they had me: Accordingly I came in a new Suit of second Mourning, according to what I had said at the Justices; I set myself out too, as well as a Widows dress would admit; my Governess, also furnish'd me with a good Pearl Necklace, that shut in behind with a Locket of Diamonds, which she had in Pawn; and I had a very good Gold Watch by my Side: so that I made a very good Figure, and as I stay'd till I was sure they were come; I came in a Coach to the Door, with my Maid with me.

When I came into the Room, the *Mercer* was surpriz'd, he stood up and made his Bow, which I took a little Notice of, and but a little, and went and sat down, where my own Attorney had appointed me to sit, for it was his House; after a while, the *Mercer* said, he did not know me again, and began to make some Compliments; I told him, I believ'd he did not know me at first, and that if he had, he would have not treated me as he did.

He told me he was very sorry for what had happen'd, and that it was to testify the Willingness he had to make all possible Reparation, that he had appointed this Meeting; that he hop'd I would not carry things to Extremity, which might be not only too great a Loss to him, but might be the Ruin of his Business and Shop, in which Case I might have the Satisfaction of repaying an Injury with an Injury ten times greater; but that I would then get nothing, whereas he was willing to do me any Justice that was in his Power, without putting himself, or me to the Trouble or Charge of a Suit of Law.

I told him I was glad to hear him talk so much more like a Man of Sense than he did before; that it was true, Acknowledgment in most Cases of Affronts was counted

Reparation sufficient; but this had gone too far to be made up so; that I was not revengeful, nor did I seek his Ruin, or any Man's else, but that all my Friends were unanimous not to let me so far neglect my Character, as to adjust a thing of this kind without Reparation: That to be taken up for a Thief, was such an Indignity as could not be put up, that my Character was above being treated so by any that knew me, but because in my Condition of a Widow, I had been careless of myself, I might be taken for such a Creature, but that for the particular Usage I had from him afterward; and then I repeated all as before, it was so provoking I had scarce Patience to repeat it.

He acknowledg'd all, and was mighty humble indeed; he came up to Hundred Pounds and to pay all the Law Charges, and added, that he would make me a Present of a very good Suit of Cloaths; I came down to Three Hundred Pounds, and demanded that I should publish an Advertisement of the Particulars in the common New's-Papers.

This was a Clause he never could comply with; however, at last he came up, by good Management of my Attorney to 150*l.* and a Suit of black Silk Cloaths, and there, as it were at my Attorney's Request, I comply'd; he paying my Attorney's Bill and Charges, and gave us a good Supper into the Bargain.

When I came to receive the Money, I brought my Governess with me, dress'd like an old Dutchess, and a Gentleman very well dress'd, who we pretended Courted me, but I call'd him Cousin, and the Lawyer was only to hint privately to them, that this Gentleman Courted the Widow.

He treated us handsomely indeed, and paid the Money chearfully enough; so that it cost him 200*l.* in all, or ra-

ther more: At our last Meeting, when all was agreed, the Case of the Journeyman came up, and the *Mercer* beg'd very hard for him, told me he was a Man that had kept a Shop of his own, and been in good Business, had a Wife and several Children, and was very poor, that he had nothing to make Satisfaction with, but should beg my Pardon on his Knees: I had no Spleen at the saucy Rogue, nor were his Submissions any thing to me, since there was nothing to be got by him; so I thought it was as good to throw that in generously as not, so I told him I did not desire the Ruin of any Man, and therefore at his Request I would forgive the Wretch, it was below me to seek any Revenge.

When we were at Supper he brought the Poor Fellow in to make his Acknowledgment, which he would have done with as much mean Humility, as his Offence was with insulting Pride, in which he was an Instance of a compleat Baseness of Spirit, imperious, cruel, and relentless when Uppermost; abject and low Spirited when down: However, I abated his Cringes, told him, I forgave him, and desir'd he might withdraw, as if I did not care for the Sight of him, tho' I had forgiven him.

I was now in good Circumstances indeed, if I could have known my Time for leaving off, and my Governess often said I was the richest of the Trade in *England*, and so I believe I was; for I had 700*l.* by me in Money, besides Cloaths, Rings, some Plate, and two Gold Watches, and all of them stol'n, for I had innumerable Jobbs, besides these I have mentioned; O! Had I even now had the Grace of Repentance, I had still Leisure to have look'd back upon my Follies, and have made some Reparation; but the Satisfaction I was to make for the Publick Mis-

chiefs I had done, was yet left behind; and I could not forbear going abroad again, *as I call'd it now*, any more than I could when my Extremity really drove me out for Bread.

It was not long after the Affair with the *Mercer* was made up, that I went out in an Equipage quite different from any I had ever appear'd in before; I dress'd myself like a Begger Woman, in the coarsest and most despicable Rags I could get, and I walk'd about Peering, and Peeping into every Door and Window I came near; and indeed I was in such a Plight now, that I knew as ill how to behave in, as ever I did in any; I naturally abhor'd Dirt and Rags; I had been bred up Tite and Cleanly, and could be no other, what-ever Condition I was in; so that this was the most uneasy Disguise to me that ever I put on: I said presently to my self, that this would not do, for this was a Dress that every Body was shy, and afraid of; and I thought every Body look'd at me as if they were afraid I should come near them, least I should take something from them, or afraid to come near me, least they should get something from me: I wandred about all the Evening the first Time I went out, and made nothing of it, and came Home again wet, dragl'd, and tired: However I went out again the next Night, and then I met with a little Adventure, which had like to have cost me dear; as I was standing near a Tavern Door, there comes a Gentleman on Horseback, and lights at the Door, and wanting to go into the Tavern, he calls one of the Drawers to hold his Horse; he stay'd pretty long in the Tavern, and the Drawer heard his Master call, and thought he would be angry with him; seeing me stand by him, he call'd to me, here Woman, *says he*, hold this Horse a while, 'till I go in; if the Gentleman comes, he'll give you something; *yes*

says I, and takes the Horse, and walks off with him soberly, and carry'd him to my Governess.

This had been a Booty to those that had understood it; but never was poor Thief more at a Loss to know what to do with any Thing that was stolen; for when I came Home, my Governess was quite confounded, and what to do with the Creature, we neither of us knew; to send him to a Stable was doing nothing, for it was certain that Notice would be given in the *Gazette*, and the Horse describ'd, so that we durst not go to fetch it again.

All the Remedy we had for this unlucky Adventure was to go and set up the Horse at an Inn, and send a Note by a Porter to the Tavern, that the Gentleman's Horse that was lost at such a Time, was left at such an Inn, and that he might be had there; that the poor Woman that held him, having led him about the Street, not being able to lead him back again, had left him there; we might have waited till the owner had publish'd, and offer'd a Reward, but we did not care to venture the receiving the Reward.

So this was a Robbery and no Robbery, for little was lost by it, and nothing was got by it, and I was quite Sick of going out in a Beggar's Dress; it did not answer at all, and besides I thought it Ominous and Threatning.

While I was in this Disguise, I fell in with a parcel of Folks of a worse Kind than any I ever sorted with, and I saw a little into their Ways too, these were Coiners of Money, and they made some very good Offers to me, as to Profit; but the Part they would have had me embark'd in, was the most dangerous; I mean that of the very working of the Dye, as they call it, which had I been taken, had been certain Death, and that at a Stake, *I say*, to be burnt to Death at a Stake; so that tho' I was to Appearance, but

a Beggar; and they promis'd Mountains of Gold and Silver to me, to engage; yet it would not do; 'tis true, if I had been really a Beggar, or had been desperate as when I began, I might perhaps have closed with it, for what care they to Dye, that cannot tell how to Live? But at present that was not my Condition, at least I was for no such terrible Risques as those; besides, the very Thoughts of being burnt at a Stake, struck Terror to my very Soul, chill'd my Blood, and gave me the Vapours to such a Degree, as I could not think of it without trembling.

This put an End to my Disguise too, for tho' I did not like the Proposal, yet I did not tell them so; but seem'd to relish it, and promis'd to meet again; but I durst see them no more; for if I had seen them, and not comply'd, tho' I had declin'd it with the greatest Assurances of Secresy in the World, they would have gone near to have murder'd me, to make sure Work, and make themselves easy, *as they call it*; what kind of Easiness that is, they may best judge that understand how easy Men are, that can murder People to prevent Danger.

This and Horse stealing were things quite out of my Way, and I might easily resolve I would have no more to say to them; my Business seem'd to lye another Way, and tho' it had hazard enough in it too, yet it was more suitable to me, and what had more of Art in it, and more Chances for a coming off, if a Surprise should happen.

I had several Proposals made also to me about that Time, to come into a Gang of House Breakers; but that was a thing I had no mind to venture at neither, any more than I had at the Coining Trade; I offer'd to go along with two Men, and a Woman, that made it their Business to get into Houses by Stratagem, I was willing enough to venture; but there were three of them already, and they

did not care to part, nor I to have too many in a Gang, so I did not close with them, and they paid dear for their next Attempt.

But at length I met with a Woman that had often told me what Adventures she had made, and with Success, at the Water-side, and I clos'd with her, and we drove on our Business pretty well: One Day we came among some *Dutch* People at *St. Catherines*, where we went on pretence to buy Goods that were privately got on Shore: I was two or three times in a House, where we saw a good Quantity of prohibited Goods, and my Companion once brought away three Peices of *Dutch* black Silk that turn'd to good Account, and I had my Share of it; but in all the Journeys I made by myself, I could not get an Opportunity to do any thing, so I laid it aside; for I had been there so often, that they began to suspect something.

This baulk'd me a little, and I resolv'd to push at something or other, for I was not us'd to come back so often without Purchase; so the next Day I dress'd myself up fine, and took a Walk to the other End of the Town, I pass'd thro' the *Exchange* in the *Strand*, but had no Notion of finding any thing to do there, when on a sudden I saw a great Clutter in the Place, and all the People, Shop-keepers as well as others, standing up, and staring, and what should it be? but some great Dutchess come into the *Exchange*; and they said the Queen was coming; I set myself close up to a Shop-side with my back to the Counter, as if to let the Crowd pass by, when keeping my Eye upon a parcel of Lace, which the Shop-keeper was showing to some Ladies that stood by me; the Shop-keeper and her Maid were so taken up with looking to see who was a coming, and what Shop they would go to, that I found means to slip a Paper of Lace into my Pocket, and come

clear off with it, so the Lady Millener paid dear enough for her gaping after the Queen.

I went off from the Shop, as if driven along by the Throng, and mingling myself with the Crowd, went out at the other Door of the *Exchange*, and so got away before they miss'd their Lace; and because I would not be follow'd, I call'd a Coach and shut myself up in it; I had scarce shut the Coach Doors, but I saw the Milleners Maid, and five or six more come running out into the Street, and crying out as if they were frighted; they did not cry stop Thief, because no body ran away, but I cou'd hear the Word robb'd, and Lace, two or three times, and saw the Wench wringing her Hands, and run staring too, and again, like one scar'd; the Coachman that had taken me up, was getting up into the Box, but was not quite up, and the Horses had not begun to move, so that I was terrible uneasy; and I took the Packet of Lace and laid it ready to have dropt it out at the Flap of the Coach, which opens before, just behind the Coachman; but to my great satisfaction in less than a Minute, the Coach began to move, that is to say, as soon as the Coachman had got up, and spoken to his Horses; so he drove away, and I brought off my Purchase, which was worth near twenty Pound.

The next Day I dress'd me up again, but in quite different Cloaths, and walk'd the same way again, but nothing offer'd till I came into *St. James's Park*: I saw abundance of fine Ladies in the *Park*, walking in the *Mall*, and among the rest, there was a little Miss, a young Lady of about 12 or 13 Years old, and she had a Sister, as I suppos'd, with her, that might be about Nine: I observ'd the biggest had a fine gold Watch on, and a good Necklace of Pearl, and they had a Footman in Livery with them; but as it is not usual for the Footmen to go behind the Ladies

in the *Mall*; so I observ'd the Footman stop'd at their going into the *Mall*, and the biggest of the Sisters spoke to him, to bid him be just there when they came back.

When I heard her dismiss the Footman, I step'd up to him, and ask'd him, what little Lady that was? and held a little Chat with him, about what a pretty Child it was with her, and how Genteel, and well Carriag'd, the eldest would be; how womanish, and how Grave; and the Fool of a Fellow told me presently who she was, that she was Sir *Thomas* ——'s eldest Daughter of *Essex*, and that she was a great Fortune, that her Mother was not come to Town yet; but she was with Sir *William* ——'s Lady at her Lodgings in *Suffolk-Street*, and a great deal more; that they had a Maid and a Woman to wait on them, besides, Sir *Thomas*'s Coach, the Coachman and himself, and that young Lady was Governess to the whole Family, as well here as at Home; and told me abundance of things enough for my business.

I was well dress'd, and had my gold Watch, as well as she; so I left the Footman, and I puts myself in a Rank with this Lady, having stay'd till she had taken one Turn in the *Mall*, and was going forward again; by and by, I saluted her by her Name, with the Title of Lady *Betty*: I ask'd her when she heard from her Father? when my Lady her Mother would be in Town and how she did?

I talk'd so familiarly to her of her whole Family that she cou'd not suspect, but that I knew them all intimately: I ask'd her why she would come Abroad without Mrs. *Chime* with her (that was the Name of her Woman) to take care of Mrs. *Judith*, that was her Sister. Then I enter'd into a long Chat with her about her Sister, what a fine little Lady she was, and ask'd her if she had learn'd *French*, and a Thousand such little Things, when on a

sudden the Guards came, and the Crowd run to see the King go by to the Parliament-House.

The Ladies run all to the Side of the *Mall*, and I help'd my Lady to stand upon the edge of the Boards on the side of the *Mall*, that she might be high enough to see; and took the little one and lifted her quite up; during which, I took care to convey her gold Watch so clean away from the Lady *Betty*, that she never miss'd it, till the Crowd was gone, and she was gotten into the middle of the *Mall*.

I took my leave in the very Crowd, and said, as if in haste, dear Lady *Betty* take care of your little Sister, and so the Crowd did as it were, Thrust me away, and that I was unwilling to take my leave.

The hurry in such Cases is immediately over, and the Place clear as soon as the King is gone by; but as there is always a great running and clutter just as the King passes; so having drop'd the two little Ladies, and done my Business with them, without any Miscarriage, I kept hurrying on among the Crowd, as if I run to see the King, and so I kept before the Crowd, 'till I came to the End of the *Mall*; when the King going on toward the Horse-Guards; I went forward to the Passage, which went then thro' against the End of the *Hay-Market*, and there I bestow'd a Coach upon my self, and made off; and I confess I have not yet been so good as my Word, (*viz.*) to go and visit my Lady *Betty*.

I was once in the Mind to venture staying with Lady *Betty*, 'till she mist the Watch, and so have made a great Out-cry about it with her, and have got her into her Coach, and put my self in the Coach with her, and have gone Home with her; for she appear'd so fond of me, and so perfectly deceiv'd by my so readily talking to her of all her Relations and Family, that I thought it was very easy

to push the thing farther, and to have got at least the Neck-Lace of Pearl; but when I consider'd that tho' the Child would not perhaps have suspected me, other People might, and that if I was search'd I should be discover'd; I thought it was best to go off with what I had got.

I came accidentally afterwards to hear, that when the young Lady miss'd her Watch, she made a great Out-cry in the *Park*, and sent her Footman up and down, to see if he could find me, she having describ'd me so perfectly, that he knew it was the same Person that had stood and talked so long with him, and ask'd him so many Questions about them; but I was gone far enough out of their reach, before she could come at her Footman to tell him the Story.

I made another Adventure after this, of a Nature different from all I had been concern'd in yet, and this was at a Gaming House near *Covent Garden*.

I saw several People go in and out; and I stood in the Passage a good while with another Woman with me, and seeing a Gentleman go up that seem'd to be of more than ordinary Fashion, I said to him, Sir, pray don't they give Women Leave to go up? *Yes Madam, says he*, and to play too if they please; I mean so, Sir, *said I*; and with that, he said he would introduce me if I had a Mind; so I follow'd him to the Door, and he looking in, there, Madam, *says he*, are the Gamesters, if you have a mind to venture; I look'd in, and said to my Comerade, aloud, here's nothing but Men, I won't venture; at which one of the Gentlemen cry'd out, you need not be afraid Madam, here's none but fair Gamesters, you are very welcome to come and set what you please; so I went a little nearer and look'd on, and some of them brought me a Chair, and I sat down

and see the Box and Dice go round a Pace; then I said to my Comrade, the gentlemen play too high for us, come let us go.

The People were all very civil, and one Gentleman encourag'd me, and said, come Madam, if you please to venture, if you dare trust me I'll answer for it; you shall have nothing put upon you here; no Sir, *said I*, smiling, I hope the Gentlemen would not Cheat a Woman; but still I declin'd venturing, tho' I pull'd out a Purse with Money in it, that they might see I did not want Money.

After I had sat a while, one Gentleman said to me Jeering, come Madam, I see you are afraid to venture for your self; I always had good Luck with the Ladies, you shall Set for me, if you won't Set for yourself; I told him, Sir I should be very loth to loose your Money, tho' I added, I am pretty lucky too; but the Gentlemen play so high, that I dare not venture my own.

Well, well, *says he*, there's ten Guineas Madam, Set them for me; so I took the Money and set, himself looking on; I run out the Guineas by One and Two at a Time, and then the Box coming to the next Man to me, my Gentleman gave me ten Guineas more, and made me Set Five of them at once, and the Gentleman who had the Box threw out, so there was five Guineas of his Money again; he was encourag'd at this, and made me take the Box, which was a bold Venture: However, I held the Box so long that I gain'd him his whole Money, and had a Handful of Guineas in my Lap, and which was the better Luck, when I threw out, I threw but at One or Two of those that had Set me, and so went off easie.

When I was come this Length, I offer'd the Gentleman all the Gold, for it was his own; and so would have had him play for himself, pretending that I did not under-

stand the Game well enough: He laugh'd, and said if I had but good Luck, it was no matter whether I understood the Game or no; but I should not leave off: However he took out the 15 Guineas that he had put in first, and bad me play with the Rest: I would have him to have seen how much I had got, but he said, no, no, don't tell them, I believe you are very honest, and 'tis bad Luck to tell them, so I play'd on.

I understood the Game well enough, tho' I pretended I did not, and play'd cautiously, which was to keep a good Stock in my Lap, out of which I every now and then convey'd some into my Pocket; but in such a manner, as I was sure he could not see it.

I play'd a great while, and had very good Luck for him, but the last time I held the Box, they Set me high, and I threw boldly at all; and held the Box 'till I had gain'd near fourscore Guineas, but lost above half of it back at the last throw; so I got up, for I was afraid I should lose it all back again, and said to him, pray come Sir now and take it and play for your self, I think I have done pretty well for you: he would have had me play'd on, but it grew late, and I desir'd to be excus'd. When I gave it up to him, I told him I hop'd he would give me Leave to tell it now, that I might see what he had gain'd, and how Lucky I had been for him; when I told them there were threescore and three Guineas. Ay, *says I*, if it had not been for that unlucky Throw I had got you a hundred Guineas; so I gave him all the Money, but he would not take it 'till I had put my Hand into it, and taken some for my self, and bid me please my self; I refus'd it, and was positive I would not take it my self, if he had a Mind to do any Thing of that Kind it should be all his own doings.

The rest of the Gentlemen seeing us striving, cry'd

give it her all; but I absolutely refus'd that; then one of them said, D—n ye *Jack*, half it with her, don't you know you should be always upon even Terms with the Ladies; so in short, he divided it with me, and I brought away 30 Guineas, besides about 43, which I had stole privately, which I was sorry for, because he was so generous.

Thus I brought Home 73 Guineas, and let my old Governess see what good Luck I had at Play: However it was her Advice that I should not venture again, and I took her Council, for I never went there any more; for I knew as well as she, if the Itch of Play came in, I might soon lose that, and all the rest of what I had got.

Fortune had smil'd upon me to that Degree, and I had thriven so much, and my Governess too, for she always had a Share with me, that really the old Gentlewoman began to talk of leaving off while we were well, and being satisfy'd with what we had got; but, I know not what Fate guided me, I was as backward to it now, as she was when I propos'd it to her before, and so in an ill Hour we gave over the Thoughts of it for the present, and in a Word I grew more harden'd and audacious than ever, and the Success I had, made my Name as famous as any Thief of my sort ever had been.

I had sometimes taken the Liberty to play the same Game over again, which is not according to Practice, which however succeeded not amiss; but generally I took up new Figures, and contriv'd to appear in new Shapes every time I went abroad.

It was now a rumbling time of the Year, and the Gentlemen being most of them gone out of Town, *Tunbridge*, and *Epsom*, and such Places were full of People, but the City was thin, and I thought our Trade felt it a little, as well as others; so that at the latter End of the Year I joyn'd

my self with a Gang, who usually go every Year to *Sturbridge* Fair, and from thence to *Bury* Fair, in *Suffolk*: We promised ourselves great Things here, but when I came to see how things were, I was weary of it presently; for except meer picking of Pockets, there was little worth meddling with; neither if a Booty had been made, was it so easy carrying it off, nor was there such a Variety of Occasion for Business in our Way, as in *London*; all that I made of the whole Journey, was a Gold Watch at *Bury* Fair, and a small Parcel of Linnen at *Cambridge*, which gaveme Occasion to take Leave of the Place: It was an old Bite, and I thought might do with a Country Shop-Keeper, tho' in *London* it would not.

I bought at a Linnen Draper's Shop, not in the Fair, but in the Town of *Cambridge*, as much fine Holland, and other Things as came to about seven Pound; when I had done, I bad them be sent to such an Inn, where I had taken up my Being the same Morning, as if I was to Lodge there that Night.

I order'd the Draper to send them Home to me, about such an Hour, to the Inn where I lay, and I would pay him his Money; at the Time appointed the Draper sends the Goods, and I plac'd one of our Gang at the Chamber Door, and when the Inn-Keeper's Maid brought the Messenger to the Door, who was a young Fellow, an Apprentice, almost a Man; she tells him her Mistress was a sleep, but if he would leave the Things, and call in about an Hour, I should be awake, and he might have the Money; he left the Parcel very readily, and goes his way, and in about half an Hour my Maid and I walk'd off, and that very Evening I hired a Horse, and a Man to ride before me, and went to *New-Market*, and from thence got my Passage in a Coach that was not quite full

to *St. Edmund's Bury*; where as I told you, I could make but little of my Trade, only at a little country *Opera House*, I got a Gold Watch from a Ladies Side, who was not only intollerably Merry, but a little Fuddled, which made my Work much easier.

I made off with this little Booty to *Ipswich*, and from thence to *Harwich*, where I went into an Inn, as if I had newly arriv'd from *Holland*, not doubting but I should make some Purchase among the Foreigners that came on Shore there; but I found them generally empty of Things of Value, except what was in their Portmantuas, and *Dutch Hampers*, which were always guarded by Footmen; however, I fairly got one of their Portmantuas one Evening out of the Chamber where the Gentleman lay, the Footman being fast a sleep on the Bed, and I suppose very Drunk.

The Room in which I Lodg'd, lay next to the *Dutchman's*, and having dragg'd the heavy thing with much ado out of the Chamber into mine; I went out into the Street, to see if I could find any possibility of carrying it off; I walk'd about a great while but could see no probability, either of getting out the Thing, or of conveying away the Goods that was in it, the Town being so small, and I a perfect Stranger in it; so I was returning with a Resolution to carry it back again, and leave it where I found it; just in that very Moment I heard a Man make a Noise to some People to make haste, for the Boat was going to put off, and the Tyde would be spent; I call'd the Fellow, What Boat is it Friend, said I, that you belong to? The *Ipswich Wherry*, Madam, says he. When do you go off? says I. This Moment, Madam, says he; Do you want to go thither? Yes, said I, if you can stay till I fetch my Things. Where are your Things Madam? says he. At such

an Inn, *said I*. Well, I'll go with you Madam, *says he*, very civilly, and bring them for you; come away then, *says I*, and takes him with me.

The People of the Inn were in a great Hurry, the Packet-Boat from *Holland* being just come in, and two Coaches just come also with Passengers from *London*, for another Packet-Boat that was going off for *Holland*, which Coaches were to go back next Day with the Passengers that were just Landed: In this Hurry it was, that I came to the Barr, and paid my Reckoning, telling my Landlady I had gotten my Passage by Sea in a Wherry.

These Wherries are large Vessels, with good Accommodation for carrying Passengers from *Harwich* to *London*; and tho' they are call'd Wherries, which is a Word us'd in the *Thames* for a small Boat, row'd with one or two Men; yet these are Vessels able to carry twenty Passengers, and ten or fiveteen Ton of Goods, and fitted to bear the Sea; all this I had found out by enquiring the Night before into the several Ways of going to *London*.

My Landlady was very Courteous, took my Money for the Reckoning, but was call'd away, all the House being in a Hurry; so I left her, took the Fellow up into my Chamber, gave him the Trunk, or Portmantua, for it was like a Trunk, and wrapt it about with an old Apron, and he went directly to his Boat with it, and I after him, no Body asking us the least Question about it; as for the drunken *Dutch* Footman he was still a sleep, and his Master with other Foreign Gentlemen at Supper, and very merry below; so I went clean off with it to *Ipswich*, and going in the Night, the People of the House knew nothing, but that I was gone to *London*, by the *Harwich* Wherry as I had told my Landlady.

I was plagu'd at *Ipswich* with the Custom-House Offi-

cers, who stop'd my Trunk, *as I call'd it*, and would open, and search it; I was willing I told them, that they should Search it, but my Husband had the Key, and that he was not yet come from *Harwich*; this I said, that if upon searching it, they should find all the things be such, as properly belong'd to a Man rather than a Woman, it should not seem strange to them; however, they being positive to open the Trunk, I consented to have it broken open, that is to say, to have the Lock taken off, which was not difficult.

They found nothing for their turn, for the Trunk had been search'd before; but they discover'd several Things much to my Satisfaction, as particularly a Parcel of Money in *French Pistoles*, and some *Dutch Ducatoons*, or *Rix Dollars*, and the rest was chiefly two Perriwigs, wearing Linnen, Razors, Wash-Balls, Perfumes and other useful Things Necessary for a Gentleman; which all pass'd for my Husband's, and so I was quit of them.

It was now very early in the Morning, and not Light; and I knew not well what Course to take; for I made no Doubt but I should be pursu'd in the Morning, and perhaps be taken with the things about me; so I resolv'd upon taking new Measures; I went publickly to an Inn in the Town with my Trunk, *as I call'd it*, and having taken the Substance out, I did not think the Lumber of it worth my concern; however, I gave it the Landlady of the House with a Charge to take Care of it, and lay it up safe till I should come again, and away I walk'd into the Street.

When I was got into the Town a great way from the Inn, I met with an antient Woman who had just open'd her Door, and I fell into Chat with her, and ask'd her a great many wild Questions of things all remote to my Purpose and Design, but in my Discourse I found by her

how the Town was situated, that I was in a Street which went out towards *Hadly*; but that such a Street went towards the Water-side, such a Street went into the Heart of the Town; and at last, such a Street went towards *Colchester*, and so the *London Road* lay there.

I had soon my Ends of this old Woman; for I only wanted to know which was the *London Road*, and away I walk'd as fast as I could; not that I intended to go on Foot, either to *London* or to *Colchester*, but I wanted to get quietly away from *Ipswich*.

I walk'd about two or three Mile, and then I met a plain Countryman, who was busy about some Husbandry work I did not know what; and I ask'd him a great many Questions first, not much to the purpose; but at last told him I was going for *London*, and the Coach was full, and I cou'd not get a Passage, and ask'd him if he cou'd not tell me where to hire a Horse that would carry double, and an honest Man to ride before me to *Colchester*, so that I might get a Place there in the Coaches; the honest Clown look'd earnestly at me, and said nothing for above half a Minute; when scratching his Pole, a Horse say you, and to *Colchester* to carry double; why yes Mistress, alack-a-day, you may have Horses enough for Money; well Friend, *says I*, that I take for granted, I don't expect it without Money: Why but Mistress, *says he*, how much are you willing to give? nay, *says I* again, Friend, I don't know what your Rates are in the Country here, for I am a Stranger; but if you can get one for me, get it as Cheap as you can, and I'll give you somewhat for your Pains.

Why that's honestly said too, *says the Countryman*; *not so honest neither*, said I, to myself, *if thou knewest all*; why Mistress, *says he*, I have a Horse that will carry Double, and I don't much care if I go myself with you, *an' you like*;

Will you, *says I*? well I believe you are an honest Man, if you will, I shall be glad of it, I'll pay you in Reason; why look ye Mistress, *says he*, I won't be out of Reason with you, then if I carry you to *Colchester*, it will be worth five Shillings for myself and my Horse, for I shall hardly come back to Night.

In short, I hir'd the honest Man and his Horse; but when we came to a Town upon the Road, I do not remember the Name of it, but it stands upon a River, I pretended myself very ill, and I could go no farther that Night, but if he would stay there with me, because I was a Stranger I would pay him for himself, and his Horse with all my Heart.

This I did because I knew the *Dutch* Gentlemen and their Servants would be upon the Road that Day, either in the Stage Coaches, or riding Post, and I did not know but the drunken Fellow, or some body else that might have seen me at *Harwich*, might see me again, and I thought that in one Days stop they would be all gone by.

We lay all that Night there, and the next Morning it was not very early when I set out, so that it was near Ten a-Clock by that time I got to *Colchester*: It was no little Pleasure that I saw the Town, where I had so many pleasant Days, and I made many Enquiries after the good old Friends, I had once had there, but could make little out, they were all dead or remov'd: The young Ladies had been all married or gone to *London*; the old Gentleman, and the old Lady, that had been my early Benefactress all dead; and which troubled me most, the young Gentleman my first Lover, and afterwards my Brother-in-Law, was dead; but two Sons Men grown, were left of him, but they too were Transplanted to *London*.

I dismiss'd my old Man here, and stay'd incognito for

three or four Days in *Colechester*, and then took a Passage in a Waggon, because I would not venture being seen in the *Harwich* Coaches; but I needed not have used so much Caution, for there was no Body in *Harwich*, but the Woman of the House, could have known me; nor was it rational to think that she, considering the hurry she was in, and that she never saw me but once, and that by Candle light, should have ever discover'd me.

I was now return'd to *London*, and tho' by the Accident of the last Adventure, I got something considerable, yet I was not fond of any more Country rambles; nor should I have ventur'd Abroad again if I had carried the Trade on to the End of my Days; I gave my Governess a History of my Travels, she lik'd the *Harwich* Journey well enough, and in Discoursing of these things between ourselves she observ'd, that a Thief being a Creature that Watches the Advantages of other Peoples mistakes, 'tis impossible but that to one that is vigilant and industrious many Opportunities must happen, and therefore she thought that one so exquisitely keen in the Trade as I was, would scarce fail of something wherever I went.

On the other hand, every Branch of my Story, if duly consider'd, may be useful to honest People, and afford a due Caution to People of some sort, or other, to Guard against the like Surprises, and to have their Eyes about them when they have to do with Strangers of any kind, for 'tis very seldom that some Snare or other is not in their way. The Moral indeed of all my History is left to be gather'd by the Senses and Judgment of the Reader; I am not Qualified to preach to them, let the Experience of one Creature compleatly Wicked, and compleatly Miserable, be a Storehouse of useful warning to those that read.

I am drawing now towards a new Variety of Life: Up-

on my return, being hardened by a long Race of Crime, and Successunparallel'd, I had, as I have said, no thoughts of laying down a Trade, which if I was to judge by the Example of others, must however End at last in Misery and Sorrow.

It was on the *Christmas-day* following, in the Evening, that to finish a long Train of Wickedness, I went Abroad to see what might offer in my way; when going by a Working Silver-Smith's in *Foster-lane*, I saw a tempting Bait indeed, and not to be resisted by one of my Occupation; for the Shop had no Body in it, and a great deal of loose Plate lay in the Window, and at the Seat of the Man, who I suppose Work'd at one side of the Shop.

I went boldly in and was just going to lay my Hand upon a peice of Plate, and might have done it, and carried it clear off, for any care that the Men who belong'd to the Shop had taken of it; but an officious Fellow in a House, on the other Side of the Way, seeing me go in, and that there was no Body in the Shop, comes running over the Street, and without asking me what I was, or who, seizes upon me, and cries out for the People of the House.

I had not touch'd any thing in the Shop, and seeing a glimpse of some Body running over, I had so much presence of Mind, as to knock very hard with my Foot on the Floor of the House, and was just calling out too, when the Fellow laid Hands on me.

However as I had always most Courage, when I was in most danger; so when he laid Hands on me, I stood very high upon it, that I came in, to buy half a Dozen of silver Spoons, and to my good Fortune, it was a Silver-smith's that sold Plate, as well as work'd Plate, for other Shops: The Fellow laugh'd at that Part, and put such a value upon the Service that he had done his Neighbour, that he would

have it be, that I came not to buy, but to steal, and raising a great Crowd, I said to the Master of the Shop, who by this time was fetch'd Home from some Neighbouring Place, that it was in vain to make a Noise, and enter into Talk there of the Case; the Fellow had insisted, that I came to steal, and he must prove it, and I desir'd we might go before a Magistrate without any more Words; for I began to see I should be too hard for the Man that had seiz'd me.

The Master and Mistress of the Shop were really not so violent, as the man from tother side of the Way; and the Man said, Mistress you might come into the Shop with a good Design for ought I know, but it seem'd a dangerous thing for you to come into such a Shop as mine is, when you see no Body there, and I cannot do so little Justice to my Neighbour, who was so kind, as not to acknowledge he had Reason on his Side; tho' upon the whole I do not find you attempt'd to take any thing, and I really know not what to do in it: I press'd him to go before a Magistrate with me, and if any thing cou'd be prov'd on me, that was like a design, I should willingly submit, but if not I expected reparation.

Just while we were in this Debate, and a Crowd of People gather'd about the Door, came by Sir *T. B.*, an Alderman of the City, and Justice of the Peace, and the Goldsmith hearing of it, entreated his Worship to come in and decide the Case.

Give the Goldsmith his due, he told his Story with a great deal of Justice and Moderation, and the Fellow that had come over, and seiz'd upon me, told his with as much Heat, and foolish Passion, which did me good still: It came then to my turn to speak, and I told his Worship that I was a Stranger in *London*, being newly come out of

the *North*, that I Lodg'd in such a Place, that I was passing this Street, and went into a Goldsmith's Shop to buy half a Dozen of Spoons; by great good Luck I had an old silver Spoon in my Pocket, which I pull'd out, and told him I had carried that Spoon to match it with half a Dozen of new ones, that it might match some I had in the Country.

That seeing no Body in the Shop, I knock'd with my Foot very hard to make the People hear, and had also call'd aloud with my Voice: 'Tis true, there was loose Plate in the Shop, but that no Body cou'd say I had touch'd any of it; that a Fellow came running into the Shop out of the Street, and laid Hands on me in a furious manner, in the very Moment, while I was calling for the People of the House; that if he had really had a mind to have done his Neighbour any Service, he should have stood at a distance, and silently watch'd to see whether I had touch'd any thing, or no, and then have taken me in the Fact: That is very true, says Mr. *Alderman*, and turning to the Fellow that stopt me, he ask'd him if it was true that I knock'd with my Foot? he said yes I had knock'd, but that might be because of his coming; Nay, says *the Alderman*, taking him short, now you contradict yourself, for just now you said, she was in the Shop with her back to you, and did not see you till you came upon her; now it was true, that my back was partly to the Street, but yet as my Business was of a kind that requir'd me to have Eyes every way, so I really had a glance of him running over, as I said before, tho' he did not perceive it.

After a full hearing, the Alderman gave it as his Opinion, that his Neighbour was under a Mistake, and that I was Innocent, and the Goldsmith acquiesc'd in it too, and his Wife, and so I was dismiss'd; but as I was going to de-

part, Mr. *Alderman* said, but *bold Madam*, if you were designing to buy Spoons I hope you will not let my Friend here lose his Customer by the Mistake: I readily answered, no Sir, I'll buy the Spoons still if he can Match my odd Spoon, which I brought for a Pattern, and the Goldsmith shew'd me some of the very same Fashion; so he weigh'd the Spoons, and they came to five and thirty Shillings, so I pulls out my Purse to pay him, in which I had near 20 Guineas, for I never went without such a Sum about me, whatever might happen, and I found it of use at other times as well as now.

When Mr. *Alderman* saw my Money, *he said*, well Madam, now I am satisfy'd you were wrong'd, and it was for this Reason, that I mov'd you should buy the Spoons, and staid till you had bought them, for if you had not had Money to pay for them, I should have suspected that you did not come into the Shop to buy, for the sort of People who come upon those Designs that you have been Charg'd with, are seldom troubl'd with much Gold in their Pockets, as I see you are.

I smil'd, and told his Worship, that then I ow'd something of his Favour to my Money, but I hop'd he saw Reason also in the Justice he had done me before; he said, yes he had, but this had confirm'd his Opinion, and he was fully satisfy'd now of my having been injur'd; so I came well off from an Affair, in which I was at the very brink of Destruction.

It was but three Days after this, that not at all made Cautious by my former Danger as I us'd to be, and still pursuing the Art which I had so long been employ'd in, I ventur'd into a House where I saw the Doors open, and furnish'd myself as I thought verily without being perceiv'd, with two Peices of flower'd Silks, such as they call

Brocaded Silk, very rich; it was not a Mercers Shop, nor a Warehouse of a Mercer, but look'd like a private Dwelling-House, and was it seems Inhabited by a Man that sold Goods for a Weaver to the Mercers, like a Broker or Factor.

That I may make short of the black Part of this Story, I was attack'd by two Wenches that came open Mouth'd at me just as I was going out at the Door, and one of them pull'd me back into the Room, while the other shut the Door upon me; I would have given them good Words, but there was no room for it; two fiery Dragons cou'd not have been more furious, they Tore my Cloaths, Bully'd and Roar'd, as if they would have murther'd me; the Mistress of the House came next, and then the Master, and all outrageous.

I gave the Master very good Words, told him the Door was open, and things were a Temptation to me, that I was poor, and distress'd, and Poverty was what many could' not resist, and beg'd him with Tears to have pity on me; the Mistress of the House was mov'd with Compassion, and enclin'd to have let me go, and had almost perswaded her Husband to it also, but the sawcy Wenches were run even before they were sent, and had fetch'd a Constable, and then the Master said, he could not go back, I must go before a Justice, and answer'd his Wife that he might come into Trouble himself if he should let me go.

The sight of a Constable indeed struck me, and I thought I should have sunk into the Ground; I fell into faintings, and indeed the People themselves thought I would have died, when the Woman argued again for me, and entreated her Husband, seeing they had lost nothing to let me go: I offer'd him to pay for the two Peices what-

ever the value was, tho' I had not got them, and argu'd that as he had his Goods, and had really lost nothing, it would be cruel to pursue me to Death and have my Blood for the bare Attempt of taking them. I put the Constable in mind too that I had broke no Doors, nor carried any thing away; and when I came to the Justice, and pleaded there that I had neither broken any thing to get in, nor carried any thing out, the Justice was enclin'd to have releas'd me; but the first sawcy Jade that stop'd me, affirming that I was going out with the Goods, but that she stop'd me and pull'd me back, the Justice upon that point committed me, and I was carried to *Newgate*; that horrid Place! my very Blood chills at the mention of its Name; the Place, where so many of my Comrades had been lock'd up, and from whence they went to the fatal Tree; the Place where my Mother suffered so deeply, where I was brought into the World, and from whence I expected no Redemption, but by an infamous Death: To conclude, the Place that had so long expected me, and which with so much art and Success I had so long avoided.

I was now fix'd indeed; 'tis impossible to describe the terror of my Mind, when I was first brought in, and when I look'd round upon all the horrors of that dismal Place: I look'd on my self as lost, and that I had nothing to think of, but of going out of the World, and that with the utmost Infamy; the hellish Noise, the Roaring, Swearing and Clamour, the Stench and Nastiness, and all the dreadful Afflicting things that I saw there; joyn'd to make the Place seem an Emblem of Hell itself, and a kind of an Entrance into it.

Now I reproach'd myself with the many hints I had had—*as I have mention'd above*, from my own Reason, from the Sense of my good Circumstances, and of the many Dan-

gers I had escap'd to leave off while I was well, and how I had withstood them all and hardened my Thoughts against all Fear; it seem'd to me that I was hurried on by an inevitable Fate to this Day of Misery, and that now I was to Expiate all my Offences at the Gallows, that I was now to give satisfaction to Justice with my Blood, and that I was to come to the last Hour of my Life, and of my Wickedness together: These things pour'd themselves in upon my Thoughts in a confus'd manner, and left me overwhelm'd with Melancholly and Despair.

Then I repented heartily of all my Life past, but that Repentance yielded me no Satisfaction, no Peace, no not in the least, because, *as I said to myself*, it was repenting after the Power of farther Sinning was taken away: I seem'd not to Mourn that I had committed such Crimes, and for the Fact, as it was an Offence against God and my Neighbour; but that I was to be punish'd for it; I was a Penitent as I thought, not that I had sinn'd, but that I was to suffer, and this took away all the Comfort of my Repentance in my own Thoughts.

I got no sleep for several Nights or Days after I came into that wretch'd Place, and glad I wou'd have been for some time to have died there, tho' I did not consider dying as it ought to be consider'd neither; indeed nothing could be fill'd with more horror to my Imagination than the very Place, nothing was more odious to me than the Company that was there: O! if I had but been sent to any Place in the World, and not to *Newgate*, I should have thought myself happy.

In the next Place, how did the harden'd Wretches that were there before me Triumph over me? what! Mrs. *Flanders* come to *Newgate* at last? what, Mrs. *Mary*, Mrs. *Molly*, and after that plain *Moll Flanders*? They thought

the Devil had help'd me, they said, that I had reign'd so long: They expected me there many Years ago they said, and was I come at last? then they flouted me with Dejections, welcom'd me to the Place, wish'd me Joy, bid me have a good Heart, not be cast down, things might not be so bad as I fear'd, and the like; then call'd for Brandy, and drank to me; but put it all up to my Score, for they told me I was but just come to the College, *as they call'd it*, and sure I had Money in my Pocket, tho' they had none.

I ask'd one of this Crew how long she had been there? she said four Months; I ask'd her how the Place look'd to her when she first came into it; just as it did now to me, *says she*, dreadful and frightful, that she thought she was in Hell, and I believe so still, *adds she, but it is natural to me now, I don't disturb myself about it*: I suppose, says I, you are in no danger of what is to follow: Nay, *says she*, you are mistaken there I am sure, for I am under Sentence, only I pleaded my Belly, but am no more with Child, than the Judge that try'd me, and I expect to be called down next session; *this CALLING DOWN is calling down to their former Judgement, when a Woman has been respited for her Belly, but proves not to be with Child, or if she has been with Child, and has been brought to Bed*. Well says I, and are you thus easy? ay, *says she*, I can't help myself, what signifyes being sad? If I am hang'd there's an End of me, and away she turn'd Dancing, and Sings as she goes, the following Piece of *Newgate Wit*,

*If I swing by the String,
I shall hear the Bell ring,¹
And then there's an End of poor Jenny.*

¹The Bell of St. Sepulchre's, which Tolls upon Execution Day.

I mention this, because it would be worth the Observation of any Prisoner, who shall hereafter fall into the same Misfortune and come to that dreadful Place of *Newgate*; how Time, Necessity, and Conversing with the Wretches that are there Familiarizes the Place to them; how at last they become reconcil'd to that which at first was the greatest Dread upon their Spirits in the World, and are as impudently Cheerful and Merry in their Misery, as they were when out of it.

I cannot say, as some do, this Devil is not so black, as he is painted; for indeed no Colours can represent that Place to the Life; nor any Soul Conceive aright of it, but those who have been Sufferers there: But how Hell should become by degrees so natural, and not only tollerable, but even agreeable, is a thing Unintelligible, but by those who have Experienc'd it as I have.

The same Night that I was sent to *Newgate*, I sent the News of it to my old Governess, who was surpriz'd at it you may be sure, and spent the Night almost as ill out of *Newgate*, as I did in it.

The next Morning, she came to see me, she did what she cou'd to Comfort me, but she saw that was to no purpose, however, as she said, to sink under the Weight, was but to encrease the Weight; she immediately applied herself to all the proper Methods to prevent the Effects of it, which we fear'd; and first she found out the two fiery Jades that had surpriz'd me; she tamper'd with them, persuaded them, offer'd them Money, and in a Word, try'd all imaginable ways to prevent a Prosecution; she offer'd one of the Wenches 100*l.* to go away from her Mistress, and not to appear against me; but she was so resolute, that tho' she was but a Servant Maid at 3*l.* a Year Wages or thereabouts, she refus'd it, and would have refus'd, as my

Governess said she believ'd, if she had offer'd her 500*l*. Then she attack'd the other Maid, she was not so hard-Hearted as the other; and sometimes seem'd enclin'd to be merciful; but the first Wench kept her up, and would not so much as let my Governess talk with her, but threatn'd to have her up for Tampering with the Evidence.

Then she apply'd to the Master, that is to say, the Man whose Goodshad been stol'n, and particularly to his Wife, who was enclin'd at first to have some Compassion for me; she found the Woman the same still, but the Man alledg'd he was bound to Prosecute, and that he should forfeit his Recognizance.

My Governess offer'd to find Friends that should get his Recognizances off of the File, as they call it, and that he should not suffer; but it was not possible to Convince him, that he could be safe any way in the World, but by appearing against me; so I was to have three Witnesses of Fact against me, the Master and his two Maids, that is to say, I was as certain to be cast for my Life, as I was that I was alive, and I had nothing to do, but to think of dying: I had but a sad foundation to build upon for that, as I said before, for all my Repentance appear'd to me to be only the Effect of my fear of Death, not a sincere regret for the wicked Life that I had liv'd, and which had brought this Misery upon me, or for the offending my Creator, who was now suddenly to be my Judge.

I liv'd many Days here under the utmost horror; I had Death as it were in view, and thought of nothing Night or Day, but of Gibbets and Halters, evil Spirits and Devils; it is not to be expressed how I was harass'd, between the dreadful Apprehensions of Death, and the Terror of my Conscience reproaching me with my past horrible Life.

The Ordinary of *Newgate* came to me, and talk'd a little in his way, but all his Divinity run upon Confessing my Crime, as he call'd it, (tho' he knew not what I was in for) making a full Discovery, and the like, without which he told me God would never forgive me; and he said so little to the Purpose that I had no manner of Consolation from him; and then to observe the poor Creature preaching Confession and Repentance to me in the Morning, and find him drunk with Brandy by Noon; this had something in it so shocking, that I began to nauseate the Man, and his Work too by Degrees, for the sake of the Man; so that I desired him to trouble me no more.

I know not how it was, but by the indefatigable Application of my diligent Governess I had no Bill preferr'd against me the first Sessions, I mean to the Grand Jury, at *Guild-Hall*; so I had another Month, or five Weeks before me, and without Doubt this ought to have been accepted by me, as so much Time given me for Reflection upon what was past, and Preparation for what was to come; I ought to have esteem'd it, as a Space given me for Repentance, and have employ'd it as such; but it was not in me, I was sorry (*as before*) for being in *Newgate*, but had few Signs of Repentance about me.

On the Contrary, like the Water in the Hollows of Mountains, which petrifies, and turns into Stone whatever they are suffer'd to drop upon; so the continual conversing with such a Crew of Hell-Hounds had the same common Operation upon me, as upon other People; I degenerated into Stone, I turn'd first Stupid and Senseless, and then Brutish and Thoughtless, and at last raving Mad as any of them were; in short, I become as naturally pleas'd and easy with the Place, as if indeed I had been Born there.

It is scarce possible to imagine that our Natures should be capable of so much Degeneracy, as to make that pleasant and agreeable that in it self is the most compleat Misery. Here was a Circumstance, that I think it is scarce possible to mention a worse; I was as exquisitely miserable, as it was possible for any one to be, that had Life and Health, and Money to help them as I had.

I had a Weight of Guilt upon me, enough to sink any Creature who had the least Power of Reflection left, and had any Sense upon them of the Happiness of this Life, or the Misery of another; I had at first, some Remorse indeed, but no Repentance; I had now, neither Remorse or Repentance: I had a Crime charg'd on me, the Punishment of which was Death; the Proof so Evident, that there was no Room for me, so much as to plead not guilty; I had the Name of an old Offender, so that I had nothing to expect but Death, neither had I myself any thoughts of escaping, and yet a certain strange Lethargy of Soul possess'd me, I had no Trouble, no Apprehensions, no Sorrow about me, the first Surprize was gone; I was, I may well say, I know not how; my Senses, my Reason, nay, my Conscience, were all a-sleep; my Course of Life for forty Years had been a horrid Complication of Wickedness; Whoredom, Adultery, Incest, Lying, Theft, and, in a Word, everything but Murther, and Treason, had been my Practice, from the Age of Eighteen, or thereabouts to Threescore; and now I was ingulph'd in the Misery of Punishment, and had an infamous Death at the Door, and yet I had no Sense of my Condition, no Thought of Heaven or Hell, at least, that went any farther than a bare flying Touch, like the Stitch or Pain that gives a Hint and goes off; I neither had a Heart to ask God's Mercy, or indeed

to think of it, and in this I think I have given a brief Description of the compleatest Misery on Earth.

All my terrifying Thoughts were past, the Horrors of the Place, were become familiar, and I felt no more Uneasiness at the Noise and Clamours of the Prison, than they did who made that Noise; in a Word, I was become a meer *Newgate-Bird*, as wicked and as outrageous as any of them; nay, I scarce retain'd the Habit and Custom of good Breeding and Manners, which all along 'till now run thro' my Conversation; so thoro' a Degeneracy had possess'd me, that I was no more the same Thing that I had been, than if I had never been otherwise than what I was now.

In the middle of this harden'd Part of my Life, I had another sudden Surprize, which call'd me back a little to that Thing call'd Sorrow, which, indeed, I began to be past the Sense of before: They told me one Night, that there was brought into the Prison late the Night before, three Highway-Men, who had committed a Robbery somewhere, on *Hounslow-Heath*, I think it was, and were pursu'd to *Uxbridge* by the Country, and there taken after a gallant Resistance, in which, many of the Country People were wounded, and some kill'd.

It is not to be wonder'd that we Prisoners, were all desirous enough to see these brave, topping Gentlemen that were talk'd up to be such, as their Fellows had not been known, and especially because it was said they would in the Morning be remov'd into the *Press-Yard*, having given Money to the head Master of the Prison, to be allow'd the Liberty of that better Place: So we that were Women plac'd our selves in the Way that we would be sure to see them; but nothing could express the Amaze-

ment and Surprize I was in, when the first Man that came out, I knew to be my *Lancashire* Husband, the same with whom I liv'd so well at *Dunstable*, and the same who I afterwards saw at *Brickill*, when I was married to my last Husband, as has been related.

I was struck Dumb at the Sight, and knew neither what to say, or what to do; he did not know me, and that was all the present Relief I had, I quitted my Company, and retir'd as much as that dreadful Place suffers any Body to retire, and cry'd vehemently for a great while; dreadful Creature, that I am, *said I*, How many poor People have I made Miserable? How many desperate Wretches have I sent to the Devil? This Gentleman's Misfortunes I plac'd all to my own Account: He had told me at *Chester*, he was ruin'd by that Match, and that his Fortunes were made desperate on my Account; for that thinking I had been a Fortune, he was run into Debt more than he was able to pay; that he would go into the Army, and carry a Musquet, or buy a Horse and take a Tour, as he call'd it; and tho' I never told him that I was a Fortune, and so did not actually deceive him my self, yet I did incourage its having it thought so, and so I was the Occasion originally of his Mischief.

The Surprize of this Thing only, struck deeper in my Thoughts, and gave me stronger Reflections than all that had befallen me before; I griev'd Day and Night, and the more, for that they told me, he was the Captain of the Gang, and that he had committed so many Robberies, that *Hind*, or *Whitney*, or the *Golden Farmer* were Fools to him; that he would surely be hang'd if there were no more Men left in the Country; and that there would be abundance of People come in against him.

I was overwhelm'd with Grief for him; my own Case

gave me no Disturbance compar'd to this, and I loaded my self with Reproaches on his Account; I bewail'd my Misfortunes, and the Ruin he was now come to, at such a Rate, that I relish'd nothing now, as I did before, and the first Reflections I made upon the horrid Life I had liv'd, began to return upon me, and as these Things return'd, my Abhorrence of the Place, and of the Way of living in it, return'd also; in a Word, I was perfectly chang'd, and become another Body.

While I was under these Influences of Sorrow for him, came Notice to me that the next Sessions there would be a Bill prefer'd to the Grand Jury against me, and that I should be try'd for my Life: My Temper was touch'd before, the wretched Boldness of Spirit, which I had acquir'd, abated, and conscious Guilt began to flow in my Mind: In short, I began to think, and to think indeed is one real Advance from Hell to Heaven; all that harden'd State and Temper of Soul, which I said so much of before, is but a Deprivation of Thought; he that is restor'd to his Thinking, is restor'd to himself.

As soon as I began, I say to think, the first thing that occur'd to me broke out thus; Lord! what will become of me? I shall be cast to be sure, and there is nothing beyond that, but Death! I have no Friends, what shall I do? I shall be certainly Cast! Lord! have Mercy upon me! What will become of me! This was a sad Thought, you will say, to be the first (after so long Time) that had started in my Soul of that kind, and yet, even this was nothing, but Fright, at what was to come; there was not a Word of sincere Repentance in it all. However, I was dreadfully dejected, and disconsolate to the last Degree; and as I had no Friend to communicate my distress'd Thoughts to, it lay so heavy upon me, that it threw me into Fits, and

Swoonings several times a Day. I sent for my old Governess, and she, *give her, her Due*, acted the Part of a true Friend, she left no Stone unturn'd to prevent the Grand Jury finding the Bill; she went to several of the Jury Men, talk'd with them, and endeavour'd to possess them with favourable Dispositions, on Account that nothing was taken away, and no House broken, &c. but all would not do; the two Wenches swore home to the Fact, and the Jury found the Bill for Robbery and House-breaking, that is for Felony and Burglary.

I sunk down when they brought the News of it, and after I came to my self, I thought I should have died with the Weight of it: My Governess acted a true Mother to me, she pitty'd me, she cry'd with me, and for me; but she could not help me; and to add to the Terror of it, 'twas the Discourse all over the House, that I should dye for it; I could hear them talk it among themselves very often; and see them shake their Heads, and say they were sorry for it, and the like, as is usual in the Place; but still no Body came to tell me their Thoughts, till at last one of the Keepers came to me privately, and said with a Sigh, well Mrs. *Flanders*, you will be try'd a *Friday* (this was but a *Wednesday*) what do you intend to do? I turn'd as white as a Clout, and said, God knows what I shall do, for my part I know not what to do; why, *says he*, I won't Flatter you, I would have you prepare for Death, for I doubt you will be Cast; and as you are an old Offender, I doubt you will find but little Mercy: They say, *added he*, your Case is very plain, and that the Witnesses swear so home against you, there will be no standing it.

This was a stab into the very Vitals of one under such a Burden, and I could not speak a Word good or bad, for a great while; at last I burst out into Tears, and said to

him, O Sir, What must I do? Do, *says he*, send for a Minister, and talk with him; for indeed Mrs. *Flanders*, unless you have very good Friends, you are no Woman for this World.

This was plain dealing indeed, but it was very harsh to me, at least I thought it so: He left me in the greatest Confusion imaginable, and all that Night I lay awake; and now I began to say my Prayers, which I had scarce done before since my last Husband's Death, or from a little while after; and truly I may well call it, saying my Prayers; for I was in such a Confusion, and had such horror upon my Mind, that tho' I cry'd, and repeated several times the Ordinary Expression of, *Lord have Mercy upon me*; I never brought myself to any Sense of being a miserable Sinner, as indeed I was, and of Confessing my Sins to God, and begging Pardon for the sake of Jesus Christ; I was overwhelm'd with the Sense of my Condition, being try'd for my Life, and being sure to be Executed, and on this Account, I cry'd out all Night, Lord! what will become of me? Lord! what shall I do? Lord have mercy upon me, and the like.

My poor afflicted Governess was now as much concern'd as I, and a great deal more truly Penitent; tho' she had no prospect of being brought to a Sentence, not but that she deserv'd it as much as I, and so she said herself; but she had not done any thing for many Years, other than receiving what I, and others had stolen, and encouraging us to steal it: But she cry'd and took on, like a distracted Body, wringing her Hands, and crying out that she was undone, that she believ'd there was a Curse from Heaven upon her, that she should be damn'd, that she had been the Destruction of all her Friends, that she brought such a one, and such a one, and such a one to the Gallows;

and there she reckon'd up ten or eleven People, some of which I have given an Account of that came to untimely Ends, and that now she was the occasion of my Ruin, for she had persuaded me to go on, when I would have left off. I interrupted her there; no, Mother, no, *said I*, don't speak of that, for you would have had me left off when I got the Mercer's Money again, and when I came home from *Harwich*, and I would not hearken to you, therefore you have not been to blame, it is I only have ruin'd myself, I have brought myself to this Misery; and thus we spent many Hours together.

Well, there was no Remedy, the Prosecution went on, and on the *Thursday* I was carried down to the Sessions-House, where I was arraign'd, as they call'd it, and the next Day I was appointed to be Try'd. At the Arraignment I pleaded not guilty, and well I might, for I was indicted for Felony and Burglary; that is for feloniously stealing two Peices of Brocaded Silk, value 46*l.*, the Goods of *Anthony Johnson*, and for breaking open the Doors; whereas I knew very well they could not pretend I had broken up the Doors, or so much as lifted up a Latch.

On the *Friday* I was brought to my Tryal, I had exhausted my Spirits with Crying for two or three Days before, that I slept better the *Thursday* Night than I expected, and had more Courage for my Tryal, than I thought possible for me to have.

When the Tryal began, and the Indictment was read, I would have spoke, but they told me the Witnesses must be heard first, and then I should have time to be heard. The Witnesses were the two Wenches, a Couple of hard Mouth'd Jades indeed, for tho' the thing was Truth in the main, yet they aggravated it to the utmost extremity, and swore I had the Goods wholly in my possession, that I

had hid them among my Cloaths, that I was going off with them, that I had one Foot over the Threshold when they discover'd themselves, and then I put t'other over, so that I was quite out of the House in the Street with the Goods before they took me, and then they seiz'd me, and took the Goods upon me: The Fact in general was true, but I insisted upon it, that they stop'd me before I had set my Foot clear of the Threshold: but that did not argue much, for I had taken the Goods and was bringing them away, if I had not been taken.

I pleaded that I had stole nothing, they had lost nothing, that the Door was open, and I went in with Design to buy, if seeing no Body in the House, I had taken any of them up in my Hand, it cou'd not be concluded that I intended to steal them, for that I never carried them farther than the Door to look on them with the better Light.

The Court would not allow that by any means, and made a kind of a Jest of my intending to buy the Goods, that being no Shop for the Selling of any thing, and as to carrying them to the Door to look at them, the Maids made their impudent Mocks upon that, and spent their Wit upon it very much; told the Court I had look'd at them sufficiently, and approv'd them very well, for I had pack'd them up, and was a going with them.

In short, I was found Guilty of Felony, but acquitted of the Burglary, which was but small Comfort to me, the first bringing me to a Sentence of Death, and the last would have done no more: The next Day, I was carried down to receive the dreadful Sentence, and when they came to ask me what I had to say, why Sentence should not pass, I stood mute a while, but some Body prompted me aloud to speak to the Judges, for that they cou'd represent things favourably for me: This encourag'd me, and

I told them I had nothing to say to stop the Sentence; but that I had much to say, to bespeak the Mercy of the Court, that I hop'd they would allow something in such a Case, for the Circumstances of it, that I had broken no Doors, had carried nothing off, that no Body had lost any thing; that the Person whose Goods they were, was pleas'd to say, he desir'd Mercy might be shown, which indeed he very honestly did, that at the worst it was the first Offence, and that I had never been before any Court of Justice before; and in a Word, I spoke with more Courage than I thought I cou'd have done, and in such a moving Tone, and tho' with Tears, [yet not so many Tears as to obstruct my Speech,] that I cou'd see it mov'd others to Tears that heard me.

The Judges sat Grave and Mute, gave me an easy Hearing, and time to say all that I would, but saying neither Yes, or No to it, Pronounc'd the Sentence of Death upon me; a Sentence to me like Death itself, which confounded me; I had no more Spirit left in me, I had no Tongue to speak, or Eyes to look up either to God or Man.

My poor Governess was utterly Disconsolate, and she that was my Comforter before, wanted Comfort now herself, and sometimes Mourning, sometimes Raging, was as much out of herself as any mad Woman in *Bedlam*: Nor was she only Disconsolate as to me, but she was struck with Horror at the Sense of her own wicked Life, and began to look back upon it with a Taste quite different from mine; for she was Penitent to the highest Degree for her Sins, as well as Sorrowful for the Misfortune: She sent for a Minister too, a serious pious good Man, and apply'd herself with such earnestness by his assistance to the Work of a sincere Repentance, that I believe, and so

did the Minister too, that she was a true Penitent, and which is still more, she was not only so for the Occasion, and at that Juncture, but she continu'd so, as I was inform'd, to the Day of her Death.

It is rather to be thought of, than express'd, what was now my Condition; I had nothing before me but Death; and as I had no Friends to assist me, I expected nothing but to find my Name in the Dead Warrant, which was to come for the Execution next *Friday*, of five more and myself.

In the mean time my poor distress'd Governess sent me a Minister, who at her request came to visit me: He exhorted me seriously to repent of all my Sins, and to dally no longer with my Soul; not flattering myself with hopes of Life, which he said, he was inform'd there was no room to expect, but unfeign'dly to look up to God with my whole Soul, and to cry for Pardon in the Name of Jesus Christ. He back'd his Discourses with proper Quotations of Scripture, encouraging the greatest Sinner to repent, and turn from their evil Way, and when he had done, he kneeled down and pray'd with me.

It was now, that for the first Time, I felt any real Signs of Repentance; I now began to look back upon my past Life with abhorrence, and having a kind of View into the other Side of Time, the Things of Life, as I believe they do with every Body at such a Time, began to look with a different Aspect, and quite another Shape, than they did before: The Views of felicity, the joy, the Grievs of Life were quite other Things; and I had nothing in my Thoughts, but was so infinitely Superiour to what I had known in Life, that it appear'd to be the greatest stupidity to lay a Weight upon any thing tho' the most valuable in this World.

The Word Eternity represented it self with all its incomprehensible Additions, and I had such extended Notions of it, that I know not how to express them: Among the rest, how absurd did every pleasant Thing look? I mean, that we had counted pleasant before; when I reflected that these sordid Trifles were the things for which we forfeited eternal Felicity.

With these Reflections came in of meer Course, severe Reproaches for my wretched Behaviour in my past Life; that I had forfeited all hope of Happiness in the Eternity that I was just going to enter into; and on the Contrary, was entitled to all that was miserable; and all this with the frightful Addition of its being also Eternal.

I am not capable of reading Lectures of Instruction to any Body, but I relate this in the very manner in which things then appear'd to me, as far as I am able; but infinitely short of the lively impressions which they made on my Soul at that time; indeed those Impressions are not to be explain'd by words, or if they are, I am not Mistress of Words to express them; It must be the Work of every sober Reader to make just Reflections, as their own Circumstances may direct; and, this is what every one at some time or other may feel something of; I mean a clearer Sight into things to come, than they had here, and a dark view of their own Concern in them.

But I go back to my own Case; the Minister press'd me to tell him, as far as I thought convenient, in what State I found myself as to the Sight I had of things beyond Life; he told me he did not come as Ordinary of the Place, whose business it is to extort Confessions from Prisoners, for the farther detecting of other Offenders; that his business was to move me to such freedom of Discourse as might serve to disburthen my own Mind, and furnish

him to administer Comfort to me as far as was in his Power; assur'd me, that whatever I said to him should remain with him, and be as much a Secret as if it was known only to God and myself; and that he desir'd to know nothing of me, but to qualifie him to give proper Advice to me, and to pray to God for me.

This honest friendly way of treating me, unlock'd all the Sluces of my Passions: He broke into my very Soul by it; and I unravell'd all the Wickedness of my Life to him: In a word, I gave him an Abridgment of this whole History; I give him the Picture of my Conduct for 50 years in Miniature.

I hid nothing from him, and he in return exhorted me to a sincere Repentance, explain'd to me what he meant by Repentance, and then drew out such a Scheme of infinite Mercy, proclaim'd from Heaven to Sinners of the greatest Magnitude that he left me nothing to say, that look'd like despair or doubting of being accepted, and in this Condition he left me the first Night.

He visited me again the next Morning, and went on with his Method of explaining the Terms of Divine Mercy, which according to him consisted of nothing more Difficult, than that of being sincerely desirous of it, and willing to accept it; only a sincere Regret for, and hatred of those things which render'd me so just an Object of divine Vengeance: I am not able to repeat the excellent Discourses of this extraordinary Man; all that I am able to do, is to say, that he reviv'd my Heart, and brought me into such a Condition, that I never knew any thing of in my Life before: I was cover'd with Shame and Tears for things past, and yet had at the same time a secret surprising Joy at the Prospect of being a true Penitent, and obtaining the Comfort of a Penitent, I mean the hope of be-

ing forgiven; and so swift did Thoughts circulate, and so high did the impressions they had made upon me run, that I thought I cou'd freely have gone out that Minute to Execution, without any uneasiness at all, casting my Soul entirely into the Arms of infinite Mercy as a Penitent.

The good Gentleman was so mov'd, with a view of the influence, which he saw these things had on me, that he blessed God he had come to visit me, and resolv'd not to leave me till the last Moment.

It was no less than 12 Days after our receiving Sentence, before any were order'd for Execution, and then the Dead Warrant, *as they call it*, came down, and I found my Name was among them; a terrible blow this was to my new Resolutions, indeed my Heart sunk within me, and I swoon'd away twice, one after another, but spoke not a word: The good Minister was sorely Afflicted for me, and did what he could to comfort me with the same Arguments, and the same moving Eloquence that he did before, and left me not that Evening so long as the Prison-keepers would suffer him to stay in the Prison, unless he wou'd be lock'd up with me all Night, which he was not willing to be.

I wonder'd much that I did not see him all the next Day, *it being but the Day before the time appointed for Execution*; and I was greatly discourag'd, and dejected, and indeed almost sunk for want of that Comfort, which he had so often, and with such Success yielded me in his former Visits; I waited with great impatience, and under the greatest oppressions of Spirits imaginable till about four a-Clock; when he came to my Apartment, for I had obtain'd the Favour by the help of Money, nothing being to be done in that Place without it, not to be kept in the Condemn'd Hole, among the rest of the Prisoners,

who were to die, but to have a little dirty Chamber to my self.

My Heart leap'd within me for Joy, when I heard his Voice at the Door, even before I saw him; but let any one Judge what kind of Motion I found in my Soul, when after having made a short excuse for his not coming, he shew'd me that his time had been employed on my Account; that he had obtained a favourable Report from the Recorder in my Case, and in short that he had brought me a Reprieve.

He us'd all the Caution that he was able in letting me know what it would have been double Cruelty to have conceal'd; for as grief had overset me before, so Joy overset me now, and I fell into a more dangerous Swooning than at first, and it was not without Difficulty that I was recover'd at all.

The good Man having made a very Christian Exhortation to me, not to let the Joy of my Reprieve, put the Remembrance of my past Sorrow out of my Mind, and told me, that he must leave me, to go and enter the Reprieve in the Books, and show it to the Sheriffs, he stood up just before his going away, and in a very earnest Manner pray'd to God for me, that my Repentance might be made Unfeign'd and Sincere; and that my coming back as it were into Life again, might not be a returning to the Follies of Life, which I had made such solemn Resolutions to forsake; I joyn'd heartily in that Petition, and must needs say, I had deeper Impressions upon my Mind all that Night, of the Mercy of God in sparing my Life; and a greater Detestation of my Sins, from a Sense of that goodness than I had in all my Sorrow before.

This may be thought inconsistent in itself, and wide from the Business of this Book; Particularly, I reflect that

many of those who may be pleas'd and diverted with the Relation of the wicked part of my Story, may not relish this, which is really the best part of my Life, the most Advantageous to my self, and the most instructive to others; such however will I hope allow me liberty to make my Story compleat: It would be a severe Satyr on such, to say they do not relish the Repentance as much as they do the Crime; and they had rather the History were a compleat Tragedy, as it was very likely to have been.

But I go on with my Relation, the next Morning there was a sad Scene indeed in the Prison; the first thing I was saluted with in the Morning, was the Tolling of the great Bell at St. *Sepulchre's*, which usher'd in the Day: As soon as it began to Toll, a dismal groaning and crying was heard from the Condemn'd Hole, where there lay six poor Souls, who were to be Executed that Day, some for one Crime, some for another, and two for Murther.

This was follow'd by a confus'd Clamour in the House, among the several Prisoners, expressing their aukward Sorrows for the poor Creatures that were to die, but in a manner extreamly differing one from another; some cried for them; some Brutishly huzza'd, and wish'd them a good Journey; some damn'd and curst those that had brought them to it; many pitying them; and some few, but very few praying for them.

There was hardly room for so much Composure of Mind, as was requir'd for me to bless the merciful Providence that had as it were snatch'd me out of the Jaws of this Destruction: I remained as it were Dumb and Silent, overcome with the Sense of it, and not able to express what I had in my Heart; for the Passions on such Occasions as these, are certainly so agitated as not to be able presently to regulate their own Motions.

All the while the poor condemn'd Creatures were preparing for Death, and the Ordinary *as they call him*, was busy with them, disposing them to submit to their Sentence: I say all this while I was seiz'd with a fit of trembling, as much as I cou'd have been, if I had been in the same Condition, as I was the Day before; I was so violently agitated by this Surprising Fit, that I shook as if it had been in an Ague; so that I could not speak or look, but like one Distracted: As soon as they were all put into the Carts and gone, which however I had not Courage enough to see, *I say*, as soon as they were gone, I fell into a fit of crying involuntarily, as a meer Distemper, and yet so violent, and it held me so long, that I knew not what Course to take, nor could I stop, or put a Checque to it, no, not with all the Strength and Courage I had.

This fit of crying held me near two Hours, and as I believe held me till they were all out of the World, and then a most humble Penitent serious kind of Joy succeeded; a real transport it was, or Passion of Thankfulness, and in this I continu'd most part of the Day.

In the Evening the Good Minister visited me again, and fell to his usual good Discourses, he Congratulated my having a space yet allow'd me for Repentance, whereas the State of those six poor Creatures was determin'd, and they were now past the Offers of Salvation: he press'd me to retain the same Sentiments of the things of Life, that I had when I had a View of Eternity; and at the End of all, told me that I should not conclude that all was over, that a Reprieve was not a Pardon, that he could not answer for the Effects of it; however I had this Mercy, that I had more Time given me, and it was my Business to improve that Time.

This Discourse left a kind of Sadness on my Heart, as

if I might expect the Affair would have a tragical Issue still, which however he had no Certainty of, yet I did not at that time question him about it, he having said he would do his utmost to bring it to a good End, and that he hop'd he might, but he would not have me be Secure; and the Consequence shew'd that he had Reason for what he said.

It was about a Fortnight after this, that I had some just Apprehensions that I should be included in the Dead Warrant at the ensuing Sessions; and it was not without great Difficulty, and at last an humble Petition for Transportation, that I avoided it; so ill was I beholding to Fame, and so prevailing was the Report of being an old offender, tho' in that they did not do me strict Justice, for I was not in the Sense of the Law an old Offender, whatever I was in the Eye of the Judge; for I had never been before them in a judicial way before, so the Judges could not charge me with being an old Offender, but the Recorder was pleas'd to represent my Case as he thought fit.

I had now a Certainty of Life indeed, but with the hard Conditions of being order'd for Transportation, which was, *I say*, a hard Condition in it self, but not when comparatively consider'd; and therefore I shall make no Comments upon the Sentence, nor upon the Choice I was put to; we all shall choose any thing rather than Death, especially when 'tis attended with an uncomfortable Prospect beyond it, which was my Case.

The good Minister, whose Interest, tho' *a Stranger to me*, had obtain'd me the reprieve, mourn'd sincerely for his part; he was in Hopes, *he said*, that I should have ended my Days under the Influence of good Instruction, that I might not have forgot my former Distresses, and that I should not have been turn'd loose again among such a

wretched Crew as are thus sent Abroad, where, *he said*, I must have more than ordinary secret Assistance from the Grace of God, if I did not turn as wicked again as ever.

I have not for a good while mention'd my Governess, who had been dangerously Sick, and being in as near a View of Death, by her Disease, as I was by my Sentence, was a very great Penitent; I say, I have not mention'd her, nor indeed did I see her in all this Time, but being now recovering, and just able to come Abroad, she came to see me.

I told her my Condition, and what a different flux and reflux of Fears, and Hopes I had been agitated with; I told her, what I had escap'd, and upon what Terms; and she was present, when the Minister express'd his Fears of my relapsing again into wickedness upon my falling into the wretch'd Company, that are generally transported: Indeed I had a melancholly Reflection upon it in my own Mind, for I knew what a dreadful Gang was always sent a way together, and said to my Governess, that the good Minister's Fears were not without Cause; Well, well, *says she*, but I hope you will not be tempted with such a horrid Example as that, and as soon as the Minister was gone, she told me, she would not have me Discourag'd, for perhaps Ways and Means might be found, to dispose of me in a particular Way, by my self, of which she would talk farther with me afterward.

I look'd earnestly at her, and thought she look'd more chearful than she usually had done, and I entertain'd immediately a thousand Notions of being deliver'd, but could not for my Life imagine the Methods, or think of one that was feizable; but I was too much concern'd in it, to let her go from me without explaining herself, which tho' she was very loath to do, yet, as I was still pressing,

she answer'd me in a few Words, thus, *Why, you have Money, have you not?* Did you ever know one in your Life that was transported, and had a hundred Pound in his Pocket, I'll warrant ye Child, *says she.*

I understood her presently, but told her I saw no Room to hope for any thing, but a strict Execution of the Order, and as it was a Severity that was esteem'd a Mercy, there was no Doubt but it would be strictly observ'd; she said no more but this, *we will try what can be done,* and so we parted.

I lay in the Prison near fifteen Weeks after this; what the Reason of it was, I know not, but at the End of this Time I was put on Board of a Ship in the *Thames*, and with me a Gang of Thirteen, as harden'd vile Creatures as ever *Newgate* produc'd in my Time; and it would really well take up a History longer than mine to describe the Degrees of Impudence, and audacious Villany that those Thirteen were arriv'd to, and the manner of their behaviour in the Voyage; of which I have a very diverting Account by me, which the Captain of the Ship, who carry'd them over, gave me, and which he caus'd his Mate to Write down at large.

It may perhaps be thought trifling to enter here into a Relation of all the little Incidents which attended me in this Interval of my Circumstances; I mean, between the final Order for my Transportation, and the Time of going on Board the Ship, and I am too near the End of my Story to allow Room for it, but something relating to me *and my Lancashire Husband*, I must not omit.

He had, *as I have observ'd already*, been carry'd from the Master's Side of the ordinary Prison into the Press-Yard, with three of his Comrades, for they found another to add to them after some Time; here, for what Reason I

knew not, they were kept without being brought to a Tryal almost three Months, it seems they found Means to Bribe or Buy off some who were to come in against them, and they wanted Evidence to convict them: After some puzzle on this Account, they made shift to get Proof enough against two of them, to carry them off; but the other two, of which my *Lancashire* Husband was one, lay still in Suspence: They had I think one positive Evidence against each of them; but the Law obliging them to have two Witnesses, they could make nothing of it; yet they were resolv'd not to part with the Men neither, not doubting but Evidence would at last come in; and in Order to this, I think Publication was made, that such Prisoners were taken, and any one might come to the Prison and see them.

I took this Opportunity to satisfy my Curiosity, pretending I had been robb'd in the *Dunstable* Coach, and that I would go to see the two Highway Men; but when I came into the *Press-Yard*, I so disguis'd my self, and muffled my Face up so, that he could see little of me, and knew nothing of who I was, but when I came back, I said publickly that I knew them very well.

Immediately it was all over the Prison, that *Moll Flanders* would turn Evidence against one of the Highway-Men, and that I was to come off by it from the Sentence of Transportation.

They heard of it, and immediately my Husband desir'd to see this Mrs. *Flanders* that knew him so well, and was to be an Evidence against him, and accordingly, I had leave to go to him: I dress'd myself up as well as the best Cloaths that I suffer'd myself ever to appear in there, would allow me, and went to the *Press-Yard*, but had a Hood over my Face; he said little to me at first, but ask'd

me if I Knew him; I told him, yes, very well; but as I conceal'd my Face, so I Counterfeited my Voice too, that he had no Guess at who I was: He ask'd me where I had seen him, I told him between *Dunstable* and *Brickbill*, but turning to the Keeper that stood by, I ask'd if I might not be admitted to talk with him alone, he said, yes, yes, and so very civilly withdrew.

As soon as he was gone, and I had shut the Door, I threw off my Hood, and bursting out into Tears, *my Dear*; said I, *do you not know me?* He turn'd pale and stood Speechless, like one Thunder struck, and not able to conquer the Surprise, said no more but this, *let me sit down*; and sitting down by the Table, leaning his Head on his Hand, fix'd his Eyes on the Ground as one stupid: I cry'd so vehemently on the other Hand, that it was a good while e'er I could speak any more; but after I had given vent to my Passion, I repeated the same Words: *MY DEAR, Do you not know me?* At which he answer'd, *YES*, and said no more a good while.

After some time continuing in the surprise, *as above*, he cast up his Eyes towards me and said, *How could you be so Cruel?* I did not really understand what he meant; and I answer'd, How can you call me Cruel? *To come to me*, says he, *in such a Place as this, is it not to insult me, I have not robb'd you, at least not on the Highway.*

I perceiv'd by this, that he knew nothing of the miserable Circumstances I was in, and thought that having got Intelligence of his being there, I had come to upbraid him with his leaving me; but I had too much to say to him to be affronted, and told him in a few Words, that I was far from coming to insult him, but at best I came to Condole mutually; that he would be easily satisfy'd, that I had no such View, when I should tell him that *my Condition was*

worse than his, and that many ways: He look'd a little concern'd at the Expression of my Condition being worse than his; but with a kind of a smile, said, How can that be? when you see me Fetter'd, and in *Newgate*, and two of my Companions Executed already; can you say your Condition is worse than Mine?

Come my Dear, *says I*, we have a long peice of Work to do, if I should be to relate, or you to hear my unfortunate History; but if you will hear it, you will soon conclude with me that my Condition is worse than yours: How is that possible, *says he*, when I expect to be cast for my Life the very next Sessions? Yes *says I*, 'tis very possible, when I shall tell you that I have been cast for my Life three Sessions ago, and am now under Sentence of Death, is not my Case worse than yours?

Then indeed he stood silent again, like one struck Dumb, and after a little while he starts up, unhappy Couple! *says he*, How can this be possible? I took him by the Hand, come MY DEAR, *said I*, sit down, and let us compare our Sorrows: I am a Prisoner in this very House, and in a much worse Circumstance than you, and you will be satisfy'd I do not come to Insult you, when I tell you the particulars; and with this we sat down together, and I told him so much of my Story as I thought convenient, bringing it at last to my being reduc'd to great Poverty, and representing myself as fallen into some Company that led me to relieve my Distresses by a way that I had been utterly unacquainted with, and that they making an attempt on a Tradesman's House I was seiz'd upon, for having been but just at the Door, the Maid-Servant pulling me in; that I neither had broke any Lock, or taken any thing away, and that notwithstanding, that I was brought in Guilty, and Sentenc'd to Die; but that the

Judges having been made sensible of the Hardship of my Circumstances, had obtain'd leave for me to be transported.

I told him I far'd the worse for being taken in the Prison for one *Moll Flanders*, who was a famous successful Thief, that all of them had heard of, but none of them had ever seen, but that *as he knew* was none of my Name; but I plac'd all to the account of my ill Fortune, and that under this Name I was dealt with as an old Offender, tho' this was the first thing they had ever known of me: I gave him a long Account of what had befallen me, since I saw him; but told him I had seen him since, he might think I had; then gave him an Account how I had seen him at *Brickbill*; how he was pursued, and how by giving an Account that I knew him, and that he was a very honest Gentleman, the *Hue and Cry* was stopp'd, and the High Constable went back again.

He listen'd most attentively to all my Story, and smil'd at the particulars, being all of them infinitely below what he had been at the Head of; but when I came to the Story of little *Brickbill*, he was surpriz'd, and *was it you my Dear*, said he, *that gave the Check to the Mob*, at *Brickbill*. Yes said I, it was I indeed, then I told him the particulars which I had observ'd of him there. *Why then* said he, *it was you that sav'd my Life at that time*, and I am glad I owe my Life to you, for I will pay the Debt to you now, and I'll deliver you from the present Condition you are in, or I will die in the attempt.

I told him by no means; it was a Risque too great, not worth his running the hazzard of, and for a Life not worth his saving; 'twas no matter for that, he said, it was a Life worth all the World to him; a Life that had given him a new Life; for, *says he*, I was never in real Danger, but that

time; till the last Minute when I was taken: Indeed his Danger then lay in his believing he had not been pursu'd that way; for they had gone off from *Hockley* quite another way, and had come over the enclos'd Country into *Brick-bill*, and were sure they had not been seen by any Body.

Here he gave a long History of his Life, which indeed would make a very strange History, and be infinitely diverting: He told me that he took the Road about twelve Year before he marry'd me; that the Woman which call'd him Brother, was not any Kin to him; but one that belong'd to their Gang, and who keeping Correspondence with them, liv'd always in Town, having great Acquaintance, that she gave them perfect Intelligence of Persons going out of Town, and that they had made several good Booties by her Correspondence; that she thought she had fix'd a Fortune for him, when she brought me to him, but happen'd to be Disappointed, which he really could not blame her for: That, if I had had an Estate, which she was inform'd I had, he had resolv'd to leave off the Road, and live a new Life, but never to appear in Publick till some general Pardon had been pass'd, or 'till he could, for Money, have got his Name into some particular Pardon, so that he might have been perfectly easy, but that as it had prov'd otherwise he was oblig'd to take up the old Trade again.

He gave a long Account of some of his Adventures, and particularly one, where he robb'd the *West Chester* Coaches, near *Litchfield*, when he got a very great Booty; and after that, how he robb'd five Grasiers, in the *West*, going to *Burford* Fair in *Wiltshire* to buy Sheep; he told me he got so much Money on those two Occasions, that if he had known where to have found me, he would certainly have embrac'd my Proposal of going with me to *Virginia*;

or to have settled in a Plantation, on some other of the *English Colonies in America*.

He told me he wrote three Letters to me, directed according to my Order, but heard nothing from me: This indeed I knew to be true, but the Letters coming to my Hand in the Time of my latter Husband, I could do nothing in it, and therefore gave no Answer, that so he might believe they had miscarried.

Being thus disappointed, *he said*, he carry'd on the old Trade ever since, tho' when he had gotten so much Money, *he said*, he did not run such desperate Risques as he did before; then he gave me some Account of several hard and desperate Encounters which he had with Gentlemen on the Road, who parted too hardly with their Money; and shew'd me some wounds he had receiv'd, and he had one or two very terrible Wounds indeed, particularly one by a Pistol Bullet which broke his Arm; and another with a Sword which run him quite thro' the Body, but that missing his Vitals he was cur'd again; one of his Comrades having kept with him so faithfully, and so friendly, as that he assisted him in riding near 80 Miles before his Arm was Set, and then got a Surgeon in a considerable City, remote from the Place where it was done, pretending they were Gentlemen travelling towards *Carlisle*, that they had been attack'd on the Road by Highway-Men, and that one of them had shot him into the Arm.

This, *he said*, his friend manag'd so well, that they were not suspected, but lay still 'till he was cur'd: He gave me also so many distinct Accounts of his Adventures, that it is with great Reluctance, that I decline the relating them: but this is my own Story, not his.

I then enquir'd into the Circumstances of his present Case, and what it was he expected when he came to be

try'd; he told me, that they had no Evidence against him, for that of the three Robberies, which they were all Charg'd with, it was his good Fortune, that he was but in one of them, and that there was but one Witness to be had to that Fact, which was not sufficient; but that it was expected some others would come in, and that he thought when he first see me, I had been one that came of that Errand; but that if no Body came in against him, he hop'd he should be clear'd; that he had some intimation, that if he would submit to Transport himself, he might be admitted to it without a Tryal, but that he could not think of it with any Temper, and thought he could much easier submit to be Hang'd.

I blam'd him for that; first, because if he was Transported, there might be an Hundred ways for him that was a Gentleman, and a bold enterprising Man to find his way back again, and perhaps some Ways and Means to come back before he went: He smil'd at that Part, and said he should like the last the best of the two, for he had a kind of Horror upon his Mind at his being sent to the Plantations as the *Romans* sent Slaves to Work in the Mines; that he thought the Passage into another State, much more tolerable at the Gallows, and that this was the general Notion of all the Gentlemen, who were driven by the Exigence of their Fortunes to take the Road; that at the Place of Execution there was at least an End of all the Miseries of the present State, and as for what was to follow, a Man was in his Opinion, as likely to Repent sincerely in the last Fortnight of his Life under the Agonies of a Goal, and the condemn'd Hole, as he would ever be in the Woods and Wildernesses of *America*; that Servitude and hard Labour were Things Gentlemen could never stoop to, that it was but the way to force them to be their

own Executioners, which was much worse, and that he could not have any Patience when he did but think of it.

I used the utmost of my endeavour to persuade him, and joyn'd that known Woman's Rhetorick to it, I mean that of Tears: I told him the Infamy of a publick Execution, was certainly a greater pressure upon the Spirits of a Gentleman, than any Mortifications that he could meet with Abroad; that he had at least in the other, a Chance for his Life, whereas here, he had none at all; that it was the easiest thing in the World for him to manage the Captain of a Ship, who were generally speaking, Men of good Humour, and a small matter of Conduct, especially, if there was any Money to be had, would make way for him to buy himself off, when he came to *Virginia*.

He look'd wishfully at me, and I guess'd he meant, that he had no Money, but I was mistaken, his meaning was another way; *you hinted just now*, my Dear said he, that there might be a way of coming back before I went, by which I understood you, that it might be *possible to buy it off here; I had rather give 200l. to prevent going, than 100l. to be set at Liberty when I came there*. That is my Dear said I, *because you do not know the Place so well as I do*: That may be, said he, *and yet I believe as well as you know it, you would do the same, unless it is because, as you told me, you have a Mother there*.

I told him, as to my Mother, she must be dead many Years before; and as for any other Relations that I might have there, I knew them not: That since my Misfortunes had reduc'd me to the Condition I had been in for some Years, I had not kept up any Correspondence with them; and that he would easily believe, I should find but a cold Reception from them, if I should be put to make my first visit in the Condition of a Transported Felon; that there-

fore if I went thither, I resolved not to see them; but that I had many Views in going there, which took off all the uneasy Part of it; and if he found himself oblig'd to go also, I should easily Instruct him how to manage himself, so as never to go a Servant at all, especially since I found he was not destitute of Money, which was the only Friend in such a Condition.

He smil'd, and said he did not tell me he had Money; I took him up short, and told him I hop'd he did not understand by my speaking, that I should expect any supply from him if he had Money; that on the other Hand, tho' I had not a great deal, yet I did not want, and while I had any I would rather add to him, than weaken him, seeing whatever he had, I knew in the Case of Transportation he would have Occasion of it all.

He express'd himself in a most tender manner upon that Head; he told me what Money he had was not a great deal, but that he would never hide any of it from me if I wanted it; and assur'd me he did not speak with any such Apprehensions; that he was only intent upon what I had hinted to him; that here he knew what to do, but there he should be the most helpless Wretch alive.

I told him he frighted himself with that which had no Terror in it; that if he had Money, as I was glad to hear he had, he might not only avoid the Servitude, suppos'd to be the Consequence of Transportation; but begin the World upon such a new Foundation, as he cou'd not fail of Success in, with but the common Application usual in such Cases; that he could not but call to Mind, I had recommended it to him many Years before, and propos'd it for restoring our Fortunes in the World; and I would tell him now, that to convince him both of the certainty of it, and of my being fully acquainted with the Method,

and also fully satisfy'd in the probability of Success, he should first see me deliver myself from the Necessity of going over at all, and then that I would go with him freely, and of my own Choice, and perhaps carry enough with me to satisfy him; that I did not offer it, for want of being able to live without Assistance from him; but that I thought our mutual Misfortunes had been such, as were sufficient to Reconcile us both to quitting this part of the World, and living where no Body could upbraid us with what was past, and without the Agonies of a condemn'd Hole to drive us to it, where we should look back on all our past Disasters with infinite Satisfaction, when we should consider that our Enemies should entirely forget us, and that we should live as new People in a new World, no Body having any thing to say to us, or we to them.

I press'd this Home to him with so many Arguments, and answer'd all his own passionate Objections so effectually, that he embrac'd me, and told me, I treated him with such a Sincerity, as overcame him; that he would take my Advice, and would strive to submit to his Fate, in hope of having the Comfort of so faithful a Counsellor, and such a Companion in his Misery; but still he put me in mind of what I had mention'd before; Namely, that there might be some way to get off, before he went, and that it might be possible to avoid going at all, which he said would be much better: I told him he should see, and be fully satisfy'd that I would do my utmost in that Part too, and if it did not succeed, yet that I would make good the rest.

We parted after this long Conference, with such Testimonies of Kindness and Affection as I thought were Equal, if not Superior to that at our parting at *Dunstable*;

and now I saw more plainly the Reason why he then declin'd coming with me toward *London*; and why when we parted there, he told me it was not convenient for him to come to *London* with me, as he would otherwise have done: I have observ'd that the Account of his Life, would have made a much more pleasing History than this of mine; and indeed nothing in it, was more strange than this Part (*viz.*) that he carried on that desperate Trade full five and Twenty Year, and had never been taken, the Success he had met with, had been so very uncommon, and such, that sometimes he had liv'd handsomely and retir'd, in one Place for a Year or two at a time, keeping himself and a Man Servant to wait on him, and has often sat in the Coffee-Houses, and heard the very People who he had robb'd give Accounts of their being robb'd, and of the Places and Circumstances, so that he cou'd easily remember that it was the same.

In this manner it seems he liv'd near *Liverpool* at the time, he unluckily married me for a Fortune: Had I been the Fortune he expected, I verily believe, he would have taken up and liv'd honestly.

He had with the rest of his Misfortunes the good luck not to be actually upon the spot, when the Robbery was done, which they were committed for; and so none of the Persons robb'd cou'd swear to him; but it seems as he was taken, with the Gang, one hard-mouth'd Country Man swore home to him; and according to the Publication they had made, they expected more Evidence against him, and for that Reason he was kept in hold.

However, the offer which was made to him of Transportation, was made, as I understood upon the intercession of some great Person who press'd him hard to accept of it; and as he knew there were several that might come

in against him, I thought his Friend was in the Right, and I lay at him Night and Day to delay it no longer.

At last, with much difficulty he gave his consent, and as he was not therefore admitted to Transportation in Court, and on his Petition as I was, so he found himself under a difficulty to avoid embarking himself as I had said he might have done; his Friend having given Security for him that he should Transport himself, and not return within the Term.

This hardship broke all my Measures, for the steps I took afterwards for my own deliverance, were hereby render'd wholly ineffectual, unless I would abandon him, and leave him to go to *America* by himself; than which he protested he would much rather go directly to the Gallows.

I must now return to my own Case, the time of my being Transported was near at Hand; my Governess who continu'd my fast Friend, had try'd to obtain a Pardon, but it could not be done unless with an Expence too heavy for my Purse, considering that to be left empty, unless I had resolv'd to return to my old Trade, had been worse than Transportation, because there I could live, here I could not. The good Minister stood very hard on another Account to prevent my being Transported also; but he was answer'd, that my Life had been given me at his first Solicitations, and therefore he ought to ask no more; he was sensibly griev'd at my going, because, *as he said*, he fear'd I should lose the good impressions, which a prospect of Death had at first made on me, and which were since encreas'd by his Instructions; and the pious Gentleman was exceedingly concern'd on that Account.

On the other Hand, I was not so sollicitous about it now, but I conceal'd my Reasons for it from the Minister,

and to the last he did not know, but that I went with the utmost reluctance and affliction.

It was in the Month of *February* that I was with thirteen other Convicts, deliver'd to a Merchant that Traded to *Virginia*, on board a Ship, riding in *Deptford* Reach: The Officer of the Prison deliver'd us on board, and the Master of the Vessel gave a Discharge for us.

We were for that Night clapt under Hatches, and kept so close, that I thought I should have been suffocated for want of Air, and the next Morning the Ship weigh'd, and fell down the River to a Place call'd *Bugby's Hole*, which was done, as they told us, by the agreement of the Merchant, that all Opportunity of Escape should be taken from us: However when the Ship came thither, and cast Anchor, we were permitted to come upon the Deck, but not upon the Quarter-Deck, that being kept particularly for the Captain, and for Passengers.

When by the Noise of the Men over my Head, and the Motion of the Ship, I perceiv'd they were under Sail, I was at first greatly surpriz'd, fearing we should go away, and that our Friends would not be admitted to see us; but I was easy soon after, when I found they had come to an Anchor, and that we had Notice given by some of the Men, that the next Morning we should have the Liberty to come upon Deck, and to have our Friends come to see us.

All that Night I lay upon the hard Deck, as the other Prisoners did, but we had afterwards little Cabins allow'd for such as had any Bedding to lay in them; and room to stow any Box or Trunk for Cloaths, and Linnen if we had it, (which might well be put in) for some of them had neither Shirt or Shift, Linnen or Woollen, but what was on their Backs, or one Farthing of Money to help

themselves; yet I did not find but they far'd well enough in the Ship, especially the Women, who got Money of the Seamen for washing their Cloaths, &c., sufficient to purchase any thing they wanted.

When the next Morning we had the Liberty to come upon Deck; I ask'd one of the Officers, whether I might not be allow'd to send a Letter on Shore to let my Friends know where we lay, and to get some necessary Things sent to me. This was the Boatswain, a very civil courteous Man, who told me I should have any Liberty that I desir'd, that he could allow me with Safety; I told him I desir'd no other; and he answer'd, the Ship's Boat would go up to *London* next Tide, and he would Order my Letter to be carry'd.

Accordingly when the Boat went off, the Boatswain came and told me the Boat was going off, that he went in it himself, and if my Letter was ready, he would take Care of it; I had prepar'd Pen, Ink, and Paper before-hand, and had gotten a Letter ready directed to my Governess, and enclos'd another to my fellow Prisoner, which however I did not let her know was my Husband, not to the last; in that to my Governess, I let her know where the Ship lay, and press'd her to send me what Things she had got ready for me, for my Voyage.

When I gave the Boatswain the Letter, I gave him a Shilling with it, which I told him was for the Charge of a Porter, which I had entreated him to send with the Letter, as soon as he came on Shore, that if possible I might have an Answer brought back by the same Hand, that I might know what was become of my Things, for, *SIR, says I*, if the Ship should go away before I have them, I am undone.

I took care when I gave him the Shilling, to let him see I had a little better Furniture about me, than the ordinary Prisoners, that I had a Purse, and in it a pretty deal of Money, and I found that the very Sight of it, immediately furnish'd me with very different Treatment from what I should otherwise have met with; for tho' he was Courteous indeed before, in a kind of natural Compassion to me, as a Woman in distress; yet he was more than ordinarily so, afterwards, and procur'd me to be better treated in the Ship, than, *I say*, I might otherwise have been; as shall appear in its Place.

He very honestly deliver'd my Letter, to my Governess own Hands, and brought me back her Answer; and when he gave it me, gave me the Shilling again, *there, says he*, there's your Shilling again too, for I deliver'd the Letter my self; I could not tell what to say, I was so surpriz'd at the thing; but after some Pause, *I said*, Sir, you are too kind, it had been but reasonable that you had paid yourself Coach Hire then.

No, no, *says he*, I am over paid: What is that Gentlewoman, is she your Sister?

No, Sir, *said I*, she is no Relation to me, but she is a dear Friend, and all the Friends I have in the World: Well, *says he*, there are few such Friends: Why, she crys after you like a Child; Ay, *says I again*, she would give a Hundred Pound, I believe, to deliver me from this dreadful Condition.

Would she so? *says he*: for half the Money, I believe, I could put you in a way how to deliver your self, but this he spoke softly that no Body could hear.

Alas! Sir, *said I*, but then that must be such a Deliverance as if I should be taken again, would cost me my Life:

Nay, *said he*, if you were once out of the Ship, you must look to yourself afterwards; that I can say nothing to; so we drop'd the Discourse for that Time.

In the mean time, my Governess faithful to the last Moment, convey'd my Letter to the Prison to my Husband, and got an Answer to it, and the next Day came down herself, bringing me in the first Place, a *Sea Bed*, as they call it, and all its ordinary Furniture; she brought me also a *Sea Chest*, that is, a Chest, such as are made for Seamen, with all the Conveniences in it, and fill'd with every thing almost that I could want; and in one of the Corners of the Chest, where there was a private Drawer, was my Bank of Money, *that is to say*, so much of it as I had resolv'd to carry with me; for I order'd part of my Stock to be left behind, to be sent afterwards in such Goods as I should want when I came to settle; for Money in that Country is not of much Use where all things are bought for Tobacco, much more is it a great Loss to carry it from Hence.

But my Case was particular; it was by no Means proper for me to go without Money or Goods, and for a poor Convict that was to be sold as soon as I came on Shore, to carry a Cargo of Goods would be to have Notice taken of it, and perhaps to have them seiz'd; so I took part of my Stock with me thus, and left the rest with my Governess.

My Governess brought me a great many other things, but it was not proper for me to appear too Well, at least, till I knew what kind of a Captain we should have: When she came into the Ship, I thought she would have died indeed; her Heart sunk at the Sight of me, and at the Thoughts of parting with me in that Condition, and she cry'd so intolerably, I could not for a long time have any talk with her.

I took that time to read my fellow Prisoner's Letter, which greatly perplex'd me; he told me it would be impossible for him to be discharg'd time enough for going in the same Ship, and which was more than all, he began to question whether they would give him leave to go in what Ship he pleas'd, tho' he did voluntarily transport himself; but that they would see him put on Board such a Ship as they should direct, and that he would be charg'd upon the Captain as other convict Prisoners were; so that he began to be in Dispair of seeing me 'till he came to *Virginia*, which made him almost desperate; seeing that on the other Hand, if I should not be there, if any Accident of the Sea, or of Mortality should take me away, he should be the most undone Creature in the World.

This was very perplexing, and I knew not what Course to take; I told my Governess the Story of the Boatswain, and she was mighty eager with me to treat with him; but I had no mind to it, till I heard whether my Husband or fellow Prisoner, *so she call'd him*, could be at liberty to go with me or no; at last I was forc'd to let her into the whole matter, except only, that of his being my Husband; I told her that I had made a positive Agreement with him to go, if he could get the liberty of going in the same Ship, and I found he had Money.

Then I told her what I propos'd to do when we came there, how we could Plant, Settle; and in short, grow Rich without any more Adventures, and as a great Secret, I told her we were to Marry as soon as he came on Board.

She soon agreed chearfully to my going, when she heard this, and she made it her business from that time to get him deliver'd in time, so that he might go in the same Ship with me, which at last was brought to pass, tho' with great difficulty, and not without all the Forms of a Trans-

ported *Convict*, which he really was not, for he had not been try'd, and which was a great Mortification to him: As our Fate was now determin'd, and we were both on Board, actually bound to *Virginia*, in the despicable Quality of Transported Convicts, destin'd to be sold for Slaves, I for five Year, and he under Bonds and Security not to return to *England* any more, as long as he liv'd; he was very much dejected and cast down; the Mortification of being brought on Board as he was, like a Prisoner, piqu'd him very much, since it was first told him he should Transport himself, so that he might go as a Gentleman at liberty; it is true he was not order'd to be sold when he came there, as we were, and for that Reason he was oblig'd to pay for his Passage to the Captain, which we were not; as to the rest, he was as much at a loss as a Child what to do with himself, but by Directions.

However, I lay in an uncertain Condition full three Weeks not knowing whether I should have my Husband with me or no; and therefore not resolv'd how, or in what manner to receive the honest Boatswain's Proposal, which indeed he thought a little strange.

At the End of this time, behold my Husband came on Board; he look'd with a dejected angry Countenance, his great Heart was swell'd with Rage and Disdain; to be drag'd along with three Keepers of *Newgate*, and put on Board like a Convict, when he had not so much as been brought to a Tryal; he made loud complaints of it by his Friends, for it seems he had some Interest; but they got some Checque in their Application, and were told he had had *Favour enough*, and that they had receiv'd such an Account of him since the last Grant of his Transportation, that he ought to think himself very well treated, that he was not prosecuted anew: This answer quieted him,

for he knew too much what might have happen'd, and what he had room to expect; and now he saw the goodness of that Advice to him, which prevail'd with him to accept of the offer of Transportation, and after his chagrin at these Hell Hounds, *as he call'd them*, was a little over, he look'd more compos'd, began to be chearful, and as I was telling him how glad I was to have him once more out of their Hands, he took me in his Arms, and acknowledg'd with great Tenderness, that I had given him the best advice Possible: *My Dear*, says he, *Thou hast twice sav'd my Life, from hence forward it shall be employ'd for you, and I'll always take your Advice.*

Our first business was to compare our Stock: He was very honest to me, and told me his Stock was pretty good when he came into the Prison, but that living there as he did like a Gentleman, and, *which was much more*, the making of Friends, and soliciting his Case, had been very Expensive; and in a Word, all his Stock left was a Hundred and Eight Pounds, which he had about him in Gold.

I gave him an Account of my Stock as faithfully, that is to say what I had taken with me; for I was resolv'd what ever should happen, to keep what I had left in Reserve; that in Case I should die, what I had was enough to give him, and what was left in my Governess Hands would be her own, which she had well deserv'd of me indeed.

My Stock which I had with me was two Hundred forty six Pounds some odd Shillings; so that we had three Hundred fifty four Pound between us, but a worse gotten Estate was never put together, to begin the World with.

Our greatest Misfortune as to our Stock, was that it was in Money, an unprofitable Cargoe to be carryed to the Plantations; I believe his was really all he had left in the World, as he told me it was; But I who had between

seven and eight Hundred Pounds in Bank when this Disaster befel me, and who had one of the faithfulest Friends in the World to manage it for me, considering she was a Woman of no Principles, had still Three Hundred Pounds left in her Hand, which I had reserv'd, as above; besides I had some very valuable things with me, as particularly two gold Watches, some small Peices of Plate, and some Rings; all stolen Goods; with this Fortune, and in the Sixty-first Year of my Age, I launch'd out into a new World, as I may call it, in the Condition only of a poor Convict, order'd to be Transported in respite from the Gallows; my Cloaths were poor and mean, but not ragg'd or dirty, and none knew in the whole Ship that I had any thing of value about me.

However, as I had a great many very good Cloaths, and Linnen in abundance, which I had order'd to be pack'd up in two great Boxes, I had them Shipp'd on Board, not as my Goods, but as consign'd to my real Name in *Virginia*; and had the Bills of Loading in my Pocket; and in these Boxes was my Plate and Watches, and every thing of value, except my Money, which I kept by itself in a private Drawer in my Chest, and which cou'd not be found, or open'd if found without splitting the Chest to peices.

The Ship began now to fill, several Passengers came on Board, who were embark'd on no Criminal account, and these had Accommodations assign'd them in the great Cabbin, and other Parts of the Ship, whereas we *as Convicts* were thrust down below, I know not where; but when my Husband came on Board, I spoke to the Boat-swain, who had so early given me Hints of his Friendship; I told him he had befriended me in many things, and I had not made any suitable Return to him, and with that I

put a Guinea into his Hand; I told him that my Husband was now come on Board, that tho' we were under the present Misfortunes, yet we had been Persons of a differing Character from the wretch'd Crew that we came with, and desir'd to know whether the Captain might not be mov'd, to admit us to some Conveniences in the Ship, for which we would make him what Satisfaction he pleas'd, and that we would gratifie him for his Pains in procuring this for us. He took the Guinea as I cou'd see with great Satisfaction, and assur'd me of his assistance.

Then he told us, he did not doubt but that the Captain, who was one of the best humour'd Gentlemen in the World, would be easily brought to Accommodate us, as well as we cou'd desire, and to make me easie, told me he would go up the next Tide on purpose to speak to him about it: The next Morning happening to sleep a little longer than ordinary, when I got up, and began to look Abroad, I saw the Boatswain among the Men in his ordinary Business; I was a little melancholly at seeing him there, and going forwards to speak to him, he saw me, and came towards me, but not giving him time to speak first, I said smiling, *I doubt, Sir, you have forgot us*, for I see you are very busy; he return'd presently, come along with me, and you shall see, so he took me into the great Cabbin, and there sat a good sort of a Gentlemanly Man writing, and a great many Papers before him.

Here, says the Boatswain to him that was a writing, is the Gentlewoman that the Captain spoke to you of; and turning to me, *he said*, I have been so far from forgetting your Business, that I have been up at the Captain's House, and have represented faithfully what you said, of your being furnish'd with Conveniences for your self, and your Husband; and the Captain has sent this Gentleman, who

is Mate of the Ship, down on purpose to show you every thing, and to Accommodate you to your Content, and bid me assure you, that you shall not be treated like what you were expected to be, but with the same Respect as other Passengers are treated.

The Mate then spoke to me, and not giving me time to thank the Boatswain for his Kindness, confirm'd what the Boatswain had said, and added, that it was the Captain's Delight to shew himself kind, and charitable, especially, to those that were under any Misfortunes, and with that he shew'd me several Cabbins built up, some in the great Cabin, and some partition'd off, out of the Steerage, but opening into the great Cabin, on purpose for Passengers, and gave me Leave to choose where I would; I chose a Cabin in the Steerage, in which were very good Conveniences to set our Chest, and Boxes, and a Table to eat on.

The Mate then told me, that the Boatswain had given so good a Character of me, and of my Husband, that he had Orders to tell me, we should eat with him, if we thought fit, during the whole Voyage on the common Terms of Passengers; that we might lay in some fresh Provisions if we pleas'd; or if not, he should lay in his usual Store, and that we should have Share with him: This was very reviving News to me, after so many Hardships, and Afflictions; I thank'd him, and told him, the Captain should make his own Terms with us, and ask'd him Leave to go and tell my Husband of it, who was not very well, and was not yet out of his Cabin: Accordingly I went, and my Husband whose Spirits were still so much sunk with the Indignity (as he understood it) offer'd him, that he was scarce yet himself, was so reviv'd with the Account I gave him of the Reception we were like to have in the Ship, that he was quite another Man, and new Vigour

and Courage appear'd in his very Countenance; so true is it, that the greatest Spirits, when over whelm'd by their Afflictions, are subject to the greatest Dejections.

After some little Pause to recover himself, my Husband came up with me, and gave the Mate Thanks for the Kindness which he had express'd to us, and sent suitable Acknowledgments by him to the Captain, offering to Pay him by Advance, whatever he demanded for our Passage, and for the Conveniencies he had help'd us to; the Mate told him that the Captain would be on Board in the Afternoon, and that he would leave all that to him; accordingly in the Afternoon, the Captain came, and we found him the same courteous obliging Man, that the Boatswain had represented him; and he was so well pleas'd with my Husband's Conversation, that in short, he would not let us keep the Cabbin we had chosen, but gave us one that, as I said before, open'd into the great Cabbin.

Nor were his Conditions exorbitant, or the Man craving and eager to make a Prey of us, but for fifteen Guineas we had our whole Passage and Provisions, eat at the Captain's Table, and were very handsomely Entertain'd.

The Captain lay himself in the other part of the Great Cabbin, having let his round House, *as they call it*, to a rich Planter, who went over with his Wife, and three Children, who eat by themselves; he had some other ordinary Passengers, who Quarter'd in the Steerage; and as for our old Fraternity, they were kept under the Hatches, and came very little on the Deck.

I could not refrain acquainting my Governess with what had happen'd, it was but just that she, who was really concern'd for me, should have part in my good Fortune; besides I wanted her Assistance to supply me with several

Necessaries, which before I was shy of letting any Body see me have; but now I had a Cabbin and room to set things in, I order'd abundance of good things for our Comfort in the Voyage, as Brandy, Sugar, Lemons, &c., to make Punch, and Treat our Benefactor, the Captain; and abundance of things for eating and drinking; also a larger Bed, and Bedding proportion'd to it; so that in a Word, we resolv'd to want for nothing.

All this while I had provided nothing for our Assistance, when we should come to the Place, and begin to call ourselves Planters; and I was far from being ignorant of what was needful on that Occasion; particularly all sorts of Tools for the Planters-Work, and for building; and all kinds of House-Furniture, which if to be bought in the Country, must necessarily cost double the Price.

I discours'd that Point with my Governess, and she went and waited upon the Captain, and told him, that she hop'd ways might be found out, for her two unfortunate Cousins, *as she call'd us*, to obtain our Freedom when we came into the Country, and so enter'd into a Discourse with him about the Means and Terms also, of which I shall say more in its Place; and after thus sounding the Captain, she let him know, tho' we were unhappy in the Circumstance that occasion'd our going, yet that we were not unfurnish'd to set ourselves to Work in the Country; and were resolv'd to settle, and live there as Planters: The Captain readily offer'd his Assistance, told her the Method of entering upon such Business, and how easy, nay, how certain it was for industrious People to recover their Fortunes in such a manner: Madam, *says he*, 'tis no Reproach to any Man in that Country to have been sent over in worse Circumstances than I perceive your Cousins are

in, provided they do but apply with good Judgment to the Business of the Place when they come there.

She then enquir'd of him what things it was Necessary we should carry over with us, and he like a knowing Man, told her thus: Madam, your Cousins first must procure some Body to buy them as Servants, in Conformity to the Conditions of their Transportation, and then in the Name of that Person, they may go about what they will; they may either Purchase some Plantations already begun, or they may purchase Land of the Government of the Country, and begin where they please, and both will be done reasonably; she bespoke his Favour in the first Article, which he promis'd to her to take upon himself, and indeed faithful[ly] perform'd it; and as to the rest, he promis'd to recommend us to such as should give us the best Advice, and not to impose upon us, which was as much as could be desir'd.

She then ask'd him, if it would not be Necessary to furnish us with a Stock of Tools and Materials for the Business of Planting, and he said, yes, by all means; then she begg'd his Assistance in that, and told him she would furnish us with everything that was Convenient whatever it cost her; he accordingly gave her a List of things Necessary for a Planter, which by his Account came to about fourscore, or an Hundred Pounds; and in short, she went about as dexterously to buy them, as if she had been an old *Virginia* Merchant; only that she bought by my Direction above twice as much of every Thing, as he had given her a List of.

These she put on Board in her own Name, took his Bills of Loading for them, and endors'd those Bills of Loading to my Husband, Ensuring the Cargo afterwards

in her own Name; so that we were provided for all Events, and for all Disasters.

I should have told you that my Husband gave her all his own Stock of 108*l.*, which as I have said, he had about him in Gold, to lay out thus, and I gave her a good Sum besides; so that I did not break into the Stock, which I had left in her Hands at all, but after all we had near 200*l.* in Money, which was more than enough for our purpose.

In this Condition very chearful, and indeed joyful at being so happily accommodated, we set Sail from *Bugby's Hole* to *Gravesend*, where the Ship lay about ten Days more, and where the Captain came on Board for good and all. Here the Captain offer'd us a Civility, which indeed we had no Reason to expect, Namely, to let us go on Shore, and refresh our selves, upon giving our Words, that we would not go from him, and that we would return peaceably on Board again: This was such an Evidence of his Confidence in us, that it over come my Husband, who in a meer Principle of Gratitude, told him as he could not be in any Capacity to make a suitable Return for such a Favour, so he could not think of accepting it, nor could he be easy that the Captain shou'd run such a Risque: After some mutual Civilities, I gave my Husband a Purse, in which was 80 Guineas, and he put it into the Captains Hand: There Captain, *says he*, there's part of a Pledge for our Fidelity; if we deal dishonestly with you on any Account, 'tis your own; and on this we went on Shore.

Indeed the Captain had Assurance enough of our Resolutions to go, for that having made such Provision to Settle there, it did not seem Rational that we would chuse to remain here at the Peril of Life, for such it must have been: In a Word, we went all on Shore with the Captain, and Supp'd together in *Gravesend*, where we were very

Merry, staid all Night, lay at the House where we Supp'd, and came all very honestly on Board again with him in the Morning. Here we bought ten Dozen of Bottles of good Beer, some Wine, some Fowles, and such Things as we thought might be acceptable on Board.

My Governess was with us all this while, and went round with us into the *Downs*, as did also the Captain's Wife, with whom she went back; I was never so sorrowful at parting with my own Mother as I was at parting with her, and I never saw her more: We had a fair Easterly Wind the third Day after we came to the *Downs*, and we sail'd from thence the 10th of *April*; nor did we touch any more at any Place, till being driven on the Coast of *Ireland* by a very hard Gale of Wind, the Ship came to an Anchor in a little Bay, near a River, whose Name I remember not, but they said the River came down from *Limerick*, and that it was the largest River in *Ireland*.

Here being detain'd by bad Weather for some time, the Captain who continu'd the same kind good humour'd Man as at first, took us two on Shore with him again: He did it now in kindness to my Husband indeed, who bore the Sea very ill, especially when it blew so hard: Here we bought again, store of fresh Provisions, Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Fowls, and the Captain stay'd to Pickle up five or six Barrels of Beef to lengthen out the Ships Store: We were here not above five Days, when the Weather turning mild, and a fair Wind; we set Sail again and in two and Forty Days came safe to the Coast of *Virginia*.

When we drew near to the Shore, the Captain call'd me to him, and told me that he found by my Discourse, I had some Relations in the Place, and that I had been there before, and so he suppos'd I understood the Custom, in their disposing the convict Prisoners when they arriv'd; I told

him I did not, and that as to what Relations I had in the Place, he might be sure I would make myself known to none of them while in the Circumstances of a Prisoner, and that as to the rest, we left ourselves entirely to him to assist us, as he was pleas'd to promise us he wou'd do. He told me I must get some Body in the Place to come and buy me as a Servant, and who must answer for me to the Governor of the Country, if he demanded me; I told him we should do as he should direct; so he brought a Planter to treat with him, as it were for the Purchase of me for a Servant, my Husband not being order'd to be Sold, and there I was formally sold to him, and went a Shore with him: The Captain went with us, and carried us to a certain House whether it was to be call'd a Tavern or not, I know not, but we had a Bowl of Punch there made of Rum, &c. and were very Merry. After some time the Planter gave us a Certificate of Discharge, and an Acknowledgment of having serv'd him faithfully, and I was free from him the next Morning, to go whether I would.

For this Peice of Service the Captain demanded of me 6000 weight of Tobacco, which he said he was Accountable for to his Freighter, and we bought for him, and made him a present of 20 Guineas besides; which he was abundantly satisfy'd with.

It is not proper to Enter here into the particulars of what Part of the Colony of *Virginia* we Settled in, for divers Reasons; it may suffice to mention that we went into the Great River of *Potomack*, the Ship being bound thither; and there we intended to have Settled at first, tho' afterwards we altered our Minds.

The first thing I did of Moment after having gotten all our Goods on Shore, and plac'd them in a Store-house, which with a Lodging we hir'd at the small Place or Vil-

lage, where we Landed; I say the first thing was to enquire after my Mother, and after my Brother, (that fatal Person who I married as a Husband, as I have related at large); a little enquiry furnish'd me with Information that Mrs. ———, that is my Mother was Dead; that my Brother, (or Husband) was alive, and which was worse, I found he was remov'd from the Plantation where I liv'd, and liv'd with one of his Sons in a Plantation just by the Place where we Landed, and had hir'd a Warehouse.

I was a little surpriz'd at first, but as I ventur'd to satisfy myself, that he could not know me, I was not only perfectly easy, but had a great mind to see him if it was possible, without his seeing me; in order to that I found out by enquiry the Plantation where he liv'd, and with a Woman of the Place, who I got to help me, like what we call a *Chairwoman*, I rambl'd about towards the Place, as if I had only a mind to see the Country, and look about me; at last I came so near that I saw the Dwelling-house: *I ask'd the Woman* whose Plantation that was, *she said*, it belong'd to such a Man, and looking out a little to our right Hands, there says she, is the Gentleman that owns the Plantation, and his Father with him: What are their Christian Names? said I. I know not *said she*, what the old Gentleman's Name is, but his Sons Name is *Humphry*, and I believe, *says she*, the Fathers is so too; you may guess, if you can, what a confus'd mixture of Joy and Fright possess my Thoughts upon this Occasion, for I immediately knew that this was no Body else, but my own Son, by that Father she shewed me, who was my own Brother: I had no Mask, but I ruffled my Hoods so about my Face, that I depended upon it, that after above 20 Years absence, and withal not expecting any thing of me in that part of the World, he would not be able to know

me; but I need not have us'd all that Caution, for he was grown dim Sighted, by some Distemper, which had fallen upon his Eyes, and could but just see well enough to walk about, and not run against a Tree or into a Ditch: As they drew near to us, *I said*, does he know you, Mrs. *Owen*? so they call'd the Woman, yes, *she said*, if he hears me speak, he will know me; but he can't see well enough to know me, or any Body else; and so she told me the Story of his Sight, as I have related: This made me secure, and so I threw open my Hoods again, and let them pass by me; It was a wretch'd thing for a Mother thus to see her own Son, a handsome comely young Gentleman in flourishing Circumstances, and durst not make herself known to him; and durst not take any notice of him; let any Mother of Children that reads this, consider it, and but think with what anguish of Mind I restrain'd myself; what yearnings of Soul I had in me to embrace him, and weep over him; and how I thought all my Entrails turn'd within me, that my very Bowels mov'd, and I knew not what to do; as I now know not how to express those Agonies: When he went from me I stood gazing and trembling, and looking after him as long as I could see him; then sitting down on the Grass, just at a Place I had mark'd, I made as if I lay down to rest me, but turn'd from her, and lying on my Face wept, and kiss'd the Ground that he had set his Foot on.

I cou'd not conceal my Disorder so much from the Woman, but that she perceiv'd it, and thought I was not well, which I was oblig'd to pretend was true; upon which she press'd me to rise, the Ground being damp and dangerous, which I did, and walk'd away.

As I was going back again, and still Talking of this Gentleman, and his Son, a new Occasion of melancholy

offer'd itself *thus*: The Woman began, as if she would tell me a Story to divert me; there goes, *says she*, a very odd Tale among the Neighbours where this Gentleman formerly liv'd: What was that, *said I*? why, *says she*, that old Gentleman going to *England*, when he was a young Man, fell in Love with a young Lady there, one of the finest Women that ever was seen here, and Married her, and brought her over hither to his Mother, who was then living: He liv'd here several Years with her, *continu'd she*, and had several Children by her, of which the young Gentleman that was with him now, was one; but after some time, the old Gentlewoman his Mother talking to her, of something relating to herself, and of her Circumstances in *England*, which were bad enough; the Daughter-in-Law began to be very much surpriz'd and uneasy, and in short, in examining further into things, it appear'd past all Contradiction, that she (the old Gentlewoman) was her own Mother, and that consequently, that Son was her own Brother, which struck the Family with Horror, and put them into such Confusion, that it had almost ruin'd them all; the young Woman would not live with him, he for a time went Distracted, and at last, the young Woman went away for *England*, and has never been heard of since.

It is easy to believe that I was strangely affected with this Story; but 'tis impossible to describe the Nature of my Disturbance: I seem'd astonish'd at the Story, and ask'd her a Thousand Questions about the particulars, which I found she was thoroughly acquainted with; at last I began to enquire into the Circumstances of the Family, how the old Gentlewoman, *I mean, my Mother*, died, and how she left what she had; for my Mother had promis'd me very solemnly, that when she died, she would do something for me, and leave it so, as that, if I was Liv-

ing, I should one way or other come at it, without its being in the Power of her Son, *my Brother and Husband* to prevent it: She told me she did not know exactly how it was order'd; but she had been told, that *my Mother* had left a Sum of Money, and had tyed her Plantation for the Payment of it, to be made good to the Daughter, if ever she could be heard of, either in *England* or elsewhere; and that the Trust was left with this Son, who we saw with his Father.

This was News too good for me to make light of, and you may be sure fill'd my Heart with a Thousand Thoughts, what Course I should take, and in what manner I should make myself known, or whether I should ever make myself known, or no.

Here was a Perplexity that I had not indeed skill to manage myself in, neither knew I what Course to take: It lay heavy upon my mind Night and Day, I could neither Sleep or Converse, so that my Husband perceiv'd it, wonder'd what ail'd me, and strove to divert me, but it was all to no purpose; he press'd me to tell him what it was troubled me, but I put it off, till at last importuning me continually, I was forc'd to form a Story, which yet had a plain Truth to lay it upon too; I told him I was troubled because I found we must shift our Quarters, and alter our Scheme of Settling, for that I found I should be known, if I stay'd in that part of the Country; for that my Mother being dead, several of my Relations were come into that Part where we then was, and that I must either discover myself to them, which in our present Circumstances was not proper on many Accounts, or remove, and which to do I knew not, and that this it was that made me melancholly.

He joyned with me in this, that it was by no means

proper for me to make myself known to any Body in the Circumstances, in which we then were; and therefore he told me he would be willing to remove to any part of the Country, or even to any other Country if I thought fit; but now I had another Difficulty, which was, that if I remov'd to another Colony, I put myself out of the way of ever making a due Search after those Things which my Mother had left: Again, I could never so much as think of breaking the Secret of my former Marriage to my new Husband; it was not a Story, would bear telling, nor could I tell what might be the Consequences of it; it was impossible too, without making it publick all over the Country, as well who I was, as what I now was also.

This Perplexity continu'd a great while, and made my Spouse very uneasy; for he thought I was not open with him, and did not let him into every Part of my Grievance; and he would often say, he wonder'd what he had done, that I would not trust him, whatever it was, especially if it was grievous and afflicting; the Truth is, he ought to have been trusted with every Thing, for no Man could deserve better of a Wife; but this was a thing I knew not how to open to him, and yet having no Body to disclose any Part of it to, the Burthen was too heavy for my Mind; for let them say what they please of our Sex not being able to keep a Secret; my Life is a plain Conviction to me of the Contrary; but be it our Sex, or the Men's Sex, a Secret of Moment should always have a Confident, a bosom Friend, to whom we may communicate the Joy of it, or the Grief of it, be it which it will, or it will be a double Weight upon the Spirits, and perhaps become even insupportable in it self; and this I appeal to Human Testimony for the Truth of.

And this is the Cause why many times Men, as well as

Women, and Men of the greatest, and best Qualities other ways, yet have found themselves weak in this Part, and have not been able to bear the Weight of a secret Joy, or of a secret Sorrow; but have been oblig'd to disclose it, even for the mere giving Vent to themselves, and to unbend the Mind, oppress'd with the Weights which attended it; nor was this any Token of Folly at all, but a natural Consequence of the Thing; and such People had they struggl'd longer with the Oppression, would certainly have told it in their Sleep, and disclos'd the Secret, let it have been of what fatal Nature soever, without regard to the Person to whom it might be expos'd: This Necessity of Nature, is a Thing which Works sometimes with such Vehemency, in the Minds of those who are guilty of any atrocious Villany; such as a secret Murther in particular, that they have been oblig'd to Discover it, tho' the Consequence has been their own Destruction: Now, tho' it may be true that the divine Justice ought to have the Glory of all those Discoveries and Confessions, yet 'tis as certain that Providence which ordinarily Works by the Hands of Nature, makes Use here, of the same natural Causes to produce those extraordinary Effects.

I could give several remarkable Instances of this in my long Conversation with Crime, and with Criminals; I knew one Fellow, that while I was a Prisoner in *Newgate*, was one of those they called then *Night-fliers*, I know not what Word they may have understood it by since; but he was one, who by Connivance was admitted to go Abroad every Evening, when he play'd his Pranks, and furnish'd those honest People they call Thief-Catchers with Business to find out the next Day, and restore *for a Reward*, what they had stolen the Evening before: This Fellow was as sure to tell in his Sleep all that he had done, and

every Step he had taken, what he had stolen, and where, as sure as if he had engag'd to tell it waking, and therefore he was oblig'd after he had been out to lock himself up, or be locked up by some of the Keepers that had him in Fee, that no Body should hear him; but on the other Hand, if he had told all the Particulars, and given a full Account of his Rambles and Success to any Comrade, any Brother Thief, or to his Employers, *as I may justly call them*, then all was well, and he slept as quietly as other People.

As the publishing this Account of my Life, is for the sake of the just Moral of every Part of it, and for Instruction, Caution, Warning, and Improvement to every Reader, so this will not pass I hope for an unnecessary Digression, concerning some People, being oblig'd to disclose the greatest Secrets either of their own, or other Peoples Affairs.

Under the Oppression of this Weight, I labour'd in the Case I have been Naming; and the only Relief I found for it, was to let my Husband into so much of it, as I thought would convince him of the Necessity there was, for us to think of Settling in some other Part of the World, and the next Consideration before us was, which Part of the *English* Settlements we should go to? my Husband was a perfect Stranger to the Country, and had not yet so much as a Geographical Knowledge of the Situation of the several Places; and I, that till I wrote this, did not know what the Word Geographical signify'd, had only a general Knowledge from long Conversation with People that came from, or went to several Places; but this I knew, that *Maryland*, *Pensilvania*, East and West *Jersy*, *New York*, and *New England*, lay all North of *Virginia*, and that they were consequently all colder Climates, to which, for that very reason, I had an Aversion; for that as

I naturally lov'd warm Weather, so now I grew into Years, I had a stronger Inclination to shun a cold Climate; I therefore consider'd of going to *Carolina*, which is the most Southern Colony of the *English* on the Continent; and hither I propos'd to go, the rather, because I might with ease come from thence at any time, when it might be proper to enquire after my Mother's Effects, and to demand them.

With this Resolution, I proposed to my Husband our going away from where we was, and carrying our Effects with us to *Carolina*, where we resolv'd to Settle; for my Husband readily agreed to the first Part (*viz.*) that it was not at all proper to stay where we was, since I had assur'd him we should be known there, and the rest I conceal'd from him.

But now I found a new Difficulty upon me: The main Affair grew heavy upon my Mind still, and I could not think of going out of the Country, without *some how or other* making Enquiry into the grand Affair of what my Mother had done for me; nor could I with any Patience bear the Thought of going away, and not make my self known to my old Husband (*Brother*), or to my Child, his Son; only I would fain have had it done without my new Husband having any knowledge of it, or they having any Knowledge of him.

I cast about innumerable Ways in my Thoughts how this might be done: I would gladly have sent my Husband away to *Carolina*, and have come after my self; but this was impracticable, he would not stir without me, being himself unacquainted with the Country, and with the Methods of settling any where: Then I thought we would both go first, and that when we were settled I should come back to *Virginia*; but even then I knew he would never

part with me, and be left there alone; the Case was plain, he was bred a Gentleman, and was not only unacquainted, but indolent, and when we did Settle, would much rather go into the Woods with his Gun, which they call there Hunting, and which is the ordinary Work of the *Indians*; I say he would much rather do that, than attend the natural Business of the Plantation.

There were therefore Difficulties unsurmountable, and such as I knew not what to do in, I had such strong Impressions on my Mind about discovering my self to my old Husband, that I could not withstand them; and the rather, because it run in my Thoughts, that if I did not, while he liv'd, I might in vain endeavour to convince my Son afterward, that I was really the same Person, and that I was his Mother, and so might both lose the Assistance and Comfort of the Relation, and lose whatever it was my Mother had left me; and yet on the other Hand, I could never think it proper to discover the Circumstances I was in; as well relating to the having a Husband with me, as to my being brought over as a Criminal; on both which Accounts it was absolutely Necessary to me to remove from the Place where I was, and come again to him, as from another Place and in another Figure.

Upon those Considerations, I went on with telling my Husband, the absolute necessity there was of our not Settling in *Potomack* River, that we should presently be made Publick there, whereas if we went to any other Place in the World, we could come in with as much Reputation, as any Family that came to Plant: That as it was always agreeable to the Inhabitants to have Families come among them to Plant, who brought Substance with them, so we should be sure of agreeable Reception, and without any possibility of a Discovery of our Circumstances.

I told him too, that as I had several Relations in the Place where we was, and that I durst not now let my self be known to them, because they would soon come to know the Occasion of my coming over, which would be to expose my self to the last Degree; so I had Reason to believe that my Mother who died here had left me something, and perhaps considerable, which it might be very well worth my while to enquire after; but that this too could not be done without exposing us publickly, unless we went from hence; and then, where ever we settled, I might come as it were to visit and to see my Brother and Nephews, make my self known, enquire after what was my Due, be receiv'd with Respect, and at the same time have Justice done me; whereas if I did it now, I could expect nothing but with Trouble, such as exacting it by Force, receiving it with Curses and Reluctance, and with all kinds of Affronts; which he would not perhaps bear to see: That in Case of being oblig'd to legal Proofs of being really her Daughter, I might be at a Loss, be oblig'd to have Recourse to *England*, and it may be to fail at last, and so lose it: With these Arguments, and having thus acquainted my Husband with the whole Secret so far as was needful to him, we resolv'd to go and seek a Settlement in some other Colony, and at first *Carolina* was the Place pitch'd upon.

In order to this we began to make enquiry for Vessels going to *Carolina*, and in a very little while got information, that on the other side the *Bay*, as they call it, namely, in *Maryland*, there was a Ship, which came from *Carolina*, loaden with Rice, and other Goods, and was going back again thither: On this News we hir'd a Sloop to take in our Goods, and taking as it were a final farewell of *Potowmack* River, we went with all our Cargo over to *Maryland*.

This was a long and unpleasant Voyage, and my Spouse said it was worse to him than all the Voyage from *England*, because the Weather was bad, the Water rough, and the Vessel small and inconvenient; in the next Place, we were full a hundred Miles up *Potowmack* River, in a part they call *Westmorland* County; and as that River is by far the greatest in *Virginia*, and I have heard say, it is the greatest River in the World that falls into another River, and not directly into the Sea; so we had base Weather in it, and were frequently in great Danger; for tho' they call it but a River, 'tis frequently so broad, that when we were in the middle, we could not see Land on either Side for many Leagues together: Then we had the great Bay of *Chesapeake* to cross, which is where the River *Potowmack* falls into it, near thirty Miles broad, so that our Voyage was full two hundred Mile, in a poor sorry Sloop, with all our Treasure, and if any Accident had happen'd to us, we might at last have been very miserable; supposing we had lost our Goods and saved our Lives only, and had then been left naked and destitute, and in a wild strange Place, not having one Friend or Acquaintance in all that part of the World? The very thoughts of it gives me some horror, even since the Danger is past.

Well, we came to the Place in five Days sailing, I think they call it *Philip's Point*, and behold when we came thither, the Ship bound to *Carolina*, was loaded and gone away but three Days before. This was a Disappointment, but however, I that was to be discourag'd with nothing, told my Husband, that since we could not get Passage to *Carolina*, and that the Country we was in, was very fertile and good; we would see if we could find out any thing for our Turn where we was, and that if he lik'd things we would Settle here.

We immediately went on Shore, but found no Conveniences just at that Place, either for our being on Shore, or preserving our Goods on Shore, but was directed by a very honest Quaker, who we found there, to go to a Place, about sixty Miles East; that is to say, nearer the Mouth of the *Bay*, where he said he liv'd and where we should be Accommodated, either to Plant, or to wait for any other Place to Plant in, that might be more Convenient, and he invited us with so much kindness that we agreed to go, and the Quaker himself went with us.

Here we bought us two Servants, (*viz.*) an *English* Woman-Servant just come on Shore from a Ship of *Liverpool*, and a *Negro* Man-Servant, things absolutely necessary for all People that pretended to Settle in that Country: This honest Quaker was very helpful to us, and when we came to the Place that he propos'd, found us out a convenient Storehouse, for our Goods, and Lodging for ourselves, and Servants; and about two Months, or thereabout afterwards, by his Direction, we took up a large peice of Land from the Government of that Country, in order to form our Plantation, and so we laid the thoughts of going to *Carolina* wholly aside, having been very well receiv'd here, and Accommodated with a convenient Lodging, till we could prepare things, and have Land enough cur'd, and Materials provided for building us a House, all which we manag'd by the Direction of the Quaker; so that in one Years time we had near fifty Acres of Land clear'd, part of it enclos'd, and some of it Planted with Tobacco, tho' not much; besides, we had Garden ground and Corn sufficient to supply our Servants with Roots, and Herbs, and Bread.

And now I perswaded my Husband to let me go over the *Bay* again, and enquire after my Friends; he was the

willinger to consent to it now, because he had business upon his Hands sufficient to employ him, besides his Gun to divert him, which they call Hunting there, and which he greatly delighted in; and indeed we us'd to look at one another, sometimes with a great deal of Pleasure, reflecting how much better that was, not than *Newgate* only, but than the most prosperous of our Circumstances in the wicked Trade we had been both carrying on.

Our Affair was now in a very good posture, we purchased of the Proprietors of the Colony, as much Land for 35 Pound, paid in ready Money, as would make a sufficient Plantation to us as long as we could either of us live; and as for Children I was past any thing of that kind.

But our good Fortune did not End here, I went, *as I have said*, over the Bay, to the Place, where my Brother, once a Husband liv'd; but I did not go to the same Village, where I was before, but went up another great River, on the East side of the River *Potowmack*, called *Rapabannock* River, and by this means came on the back of his Plantation, which was large, and by the help of a Navigable Creek, that run into the *Rapabannock*, I came very near it.

I was now fully resolv'd to go up *Point-blank* to my Brother (Husband) and to tell him who I was; but not knowing what Temper I might find him in, or how much out of Temper rather, I might make him by such a rash visit, I resolv'd to write a Letter to him first to let him know who I was, and that I was come not to give him any trouble upon the old Relation, which I hop'd was entirely forgot; but that I apply'd to him as a Sister to a Brother, desiring his Assistance in the Case of that Provision, which our Mother at her decease had left for my Support, and which I did not doubt but he would do me Justice in,

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especially considering that I was come thus far to look
after it.

I said some very tender kind things in the Letter about his Son, which I told him he knew to be my own Child, and that as I was guilty of nothing in Marrying him any more than he was in Marrying me, neither of us having then known our being at all related to one another; so I hop'd he would allow me the most Passionate desire of once seeing my own, and only Child, and of showing something of the Infirmities of a Mother in preserving a violent Affection for him, who had never been able to retain any thought of me one way or other.

I did believe that having receiv'd this Letter, he would immediately give it to his Son to Read; his Eyes being I knew so dim, that he cou'd not see to read it; but it fell out better than so, for as his Sight was dim, so he had allow'd his Son to open all Letters that came to his Hand for him, and the old Gentleman being from Home, or out of the way when my Messenger came, my Letter came directly to my Son's Hand, and he open'd and read it.

He call'd the Messenger in, after some little stay, and ask'd him where the Person was who gave him that Letter? the Messenger told him the Place, which was about seven Miles off, so he bid him stay, and ordering a Horse to be got ready, and two Servants, away he came to me with the Messenger: Let any one judge the Consternation I was in, when my Messenger came back and told me the old Gentleman was not at Home, but his Son was come along with him, and was just coming up to me: I was perfectly confounded, for I knew not whether it was Peace or War, nor cou'd I tell how to behave: However, I had but a very few Moments to think, for my Son was at the Heels of the Messenger, and coming up into my Lodg-

ings, ask'd the Fellow at the Door something, I suppose it was, *for I did not hear it*, which was the Gentlewoman that sent him? for the Messenger said, *there she is Sir*, at which he comes directly up to me, kisses me, took me in his Arms, embrac'd me with so much Passion, that he could not speak, but I could feel his Breast heave and throb like a Child that Cries, but Sobs, and cannot cry it out.

I can neither express or describe the Joy, that touch'd my very Soul, when I found, *for it was easy to discover that Part*, that he came not as a Stranger, but as a Son to a Mother, and indeed a Son, who had never before known what a Mother of his own was; in short, we cryed over one another a considerable while, when at last he broke out first, MY DEAR MOTHER, says he, *are you still alive! I never expected to have seen your Face*; as for me, I cou'd say nothing a great while.

After we had both recover'd ourselves a little, and were able to talk, he told me how things stood, he told me he had not shewed my Letter to his Father, or told him anything about it; that what his Grand-mother left me, was in his Hands, and that he would do me Justice to my full Satisfaction; that as to his Father, he was old and infirm both in Body and Mind; that he was very Fretful, and Passionate, almost Blind, and capable of nothing; and he question'd whether he would know how to act in an Affair, which was of so nice a Nature as this; and that therefore he had come himself, as well to satisfy himself in seeing me, which he could not restrain himself from, as also to put it into my Power, to make a Judgement after I had seen how things were, whether I would discover myself to his Father, or no.

This was really so prudently, and wisely manag'd, that

I found my Son was a Man of Sense, and needed no Direction from me; I told him, I did not wonder that his Father was as he had describ'd him, for that his Head was a little touch'd before I went away; and principally his Disturbance was, because I could not be perswaded to live with him as my Husband, after I knew that he was my Brother: That as he knew better than I, what his Fathers present Condition was, I should readily joyn with him in such Measures as he would direct: That I was indifferent, as to seeing his Father, since I had seen him first, and he cou'd not have told me better News, than to tell me that what his Grand-mother had left me, was entrusted in his Hands, who I doubted not now he knew who I was, would *as he said*, do me Justice: I enquir'd then how long my Mother had been dead, and where she died, and told so many particulars of the Family, that I left him no room to doubt the Truth of my being really and truly his Mother.

My Son then enquir'd where I was, and how I had dispos'd myself; I told him I was on the *Maryland* side of the *Bay*, at the Plantation of a particular Friend, who came from *England* in the same Ship with me, that as for that side of the *Bay* where he was, I had no Habitation; he told me I should go Home with him, and live with him, if I pleas'd, as long as I liv'd: That as to his Father, he knew no Body, and would never so much as guess at me; I consider'd of that a little, and told him, that tho' it was really no little concern to me to live at a distance from him; yet I could not say it would be the most comfortable thing in the World to me to live in the House with him; and to have that unhappy Object always before me, which had been such a blow to my Peace before; that tho' I should be glad to have his Company (my Son), or to be as near

him as possible, yet I could not think of being in the House where I should be also under constant Restraining, for fear of betraying myself in my Discourse, nor should I be able to refrain some Expressions in my Conversing with him as my Son, that might discover the whole Affair, which would by no means be Convenient.

He acknowledged that I was right in all this, but then, DEAR MOTHER, says he, *you shall be as near me as you can*; so he took me with him on Horseback to a Plantation, next to his own, and where I was as well entertain'd as I cou'd have been in his own; having left me there, he went away home, telling me he would talk of the main Business the next Day, and having first called me his Aunt, and given a Charge to the People, who it seems were his Tenants, to treat me with all possible Respect; about two Hours after he was gone, he sent me a Maid-Servant and a *Negro Boy* to wait on me, and Provisions ready dressed for my Supper; and thus I was as if I had been in a new World, and began almost to wish that I had not brought my *Lancashire Husband* from *England* at all.

However, that wish was not hearty neither, for I lov'd my *Lancashire Husband* entirely, as I had ever done from the beginning; and he merited it as much as it was possible for a Man to do: but that by the way.

The next Morning my Son came to visit me again almost as soon as I was up; after a little Discourse, he first of all pull'd out a Deer skin Bag, and gave it me, with five and fifty *Spanish Pistoles* in it, and told me that was to supply my Expences from *England*, for tho' it was not his Business to enquire, yet he ought to think I did not bring a great deal of Money out with me, it not being usual to bring much Money into that Country: Then he pull'd out his Grand-mother's Will, and read it over to me,

whereby it appear'd, that she left a Plantation, on *York* River, to me, with the Stock of Servants and Cattle upon it, and had given it in Trust to this Son of mine for my Use, when ever he would hear of me, and to my Heirs, if I had any Children, and in default of Heirs, to whomsoever I should by Will dispose of it; but gave the Income of it, till I should be heard of, to my said Son; and if I should not be living, then it was to him, and his Heirs.

This Plantation, tho' remote from him, he said he did not let out, but manag'd it by a head Clerk, as he did another that was his Fathers, that lay hard by it, and went over himself three or four times a Year to look after it: I ask'd him what he thought the Plantation might be worth, *he said*, if I would let it out, he would give me about sixty Pounds a Year for it; but if I would live on it, then it would be worth much more, and he believ'd would bring me in about 150*l.* a Year; but seeing I was likely either to Settle on the other side the *Bay*, or might perhaps have a mind to go back to *England*, if I would let him be my Steward he would manage it for me, as he had done for himself, and that he believ'd he should be able to send me as much Tobacco from it, as would yield me about a 100*l.* a Year, sometimes more.

This was all strange News to me, and Things I had not been us'd to; and really my Heart began to look up more seriously, than I think it ever did before, and to look with great Thankfulness to the Hand of Providence, which had done such Wonders for me, who had been my self the greatest Wonder of Wickedness, perhaps that had been suffered to live in the World; and I must again observe, that not on this Occasion only, but even on all other Occasions of Thankfulness, my past Wickedness and abominable Life never look'd so Monstrous to me, and I never

so compleatly abhorr'd it, and reproach'd my self with it, as when I had a Sense upon me of Providence doing good to me, while I had been making those vile Returns on my Part.

But I leave the Reader to improve these Thoughts, as no doubt they will see Cause, and I go on to the Fact; my Sons tender Carriage, and kind Offers fetch'd Tears from me, almost all the while he talk'd with me; indeed I could scarce Discourse with him, but in the Intervals of my Passion; however, at length I began, and expressing my self with wonder at my being so happy to have the Trust of what I had left, put into the Hands of my own Child; I told him, that as to the Inheritance of it, I had no Child but him in the World, and was now past having any if I should Marry, and therefore would desire him to get a Writing drawn, which I was ready to execute, by which I would after me give it wholly to him, and to his Heirs; and in the mean Time smiling, I ask'd him, what made him continue a Batchelor so long; his Answer was kind, and ready, that *Virginia* did not yield any great Plenty of Wives, and that since I talk'd of going back to *England*, I should send him a Wife from *London*.

This was the Substance of our first Days Conversation, the pleasantest Day that ever past over my Head in my Life, and which gave me the truest Satisfaction: He came every Day after this, and spent great part of his time with me, and carried me about to several of his Friends Houses, where I was entertain'd with great Respect; also I dined several Times at his own House, when he took Care always to see his half dead Father so out of the Way, that I never saw him, or he me: I made him one Present, and it was all I had of Value, and that was one of the Gold Watches, of which, I said I had two in my Chest, and this

I happen'd to have with me, and gave it him at his third Visit: I told him, I had nothing of any Value to bestow but that, and I desir'd he would now and then kiss it for my sake; *I did not indeed tell him* that I stole it from a Gentlewoman's Side, at a Meeting House in *London*, that's by the way.

He stood a little while Hesitating, as if doubtful whether to take it or no; but I press'd it on him, and made him accept it, and it was not much less worth than his Leather Pouch full of *Spanish* Gold; no, tho' it were to be reckon'd, as if at *London*, whereas it was worth twice as much there; at length he took it, kiss'd it, told me the Watch should be a Debt upon him, that he would be paying, as long as I liv'd.

A few Days after, he brought the Writings of Gift, and the Scrivener with him, and I sign'd them very freely, and deliver'd them to him with a hundred Kisses; for sure nothing ever pass'd between a Mother, and a tender Dutiful Child, with more Affection: The next Day he brings me an Obligation under his Hand and Seal, whereby he engag'd himself to Manage the Plantation for my Account, and to remit the Produce to my Order where ever I should be, and withal, oblig'd himself to make up the Produce a hundred Pound a Year to me: When he had done so, he told me, that as I came to demand before the Crop was off, I had a Right to the Produce of the current Year, and so he paid a hundred Pound in *Spanish* Pieces of Eight, and desir'd me to give him a Receipt for it as in Full for that Year, ending at *Christmas* following; this being about the latter End of *August*.

I stay'd here above five Weeks, and indeed had much a-do to get away then. Nay, he would have come over the *Bay* with me, but I would by no means allow it; however

he would send me over in a Sloop of his own, which was built like a Yacht, and serv'd him as well for Pleasure as Business: This I accepted of, and so after the utmost Expressions both of Duty, and Affection, he let me come away, and I arriv'd safe in two Days at my Friends the Quakers.

I brought over with me for the Use of our Plantation, three Horses with Harness, and Saddles; some Hogs, two Cows, and a thousand other Things, the Gift of the Kindest and tenderest Child that ever Woman had: I related to my Husband all the Particulars of this Voyage, except that I call'd my Son (my Cousin:) and first I told him, that I had lost my Watch, which he seem'd to take as a Misfortune; but then I told him how kind my Cousin had been, that my Mother had left me such a Plantation, and that he had preserv'd it for me, in Hopes some time or other he should hear from me; then I told him that I had left it to his Management, that he would render me a faithful Account of its Produce; and then I pull'd him out the hundred Pound in Silver, as the first Years Produce, and then pulling out the Deer Skin Purse, with the Pistoles, and here my Dear, *says I*, is the Gold Watch: Says my Husband, *So is Heavens Goodness sure to Work the same Effects, in all sensible Minds, where Mercies touch the Heart*; lifted up both his Hands, and with an Extasy of Joy, *What is God a doing!* says he, *for such an ungrateful Dog as I am!* Then I let him know, what I had brought over in the Sloop, besides all this; I mean the Horses, Hogs, and Cows, and other Stores for our Plantation; all which added to his Surprise, and fill'd his Heart with thankfulness; and from this time forward I believe he was as sincere a Penitent, and as thoroughly reform'd Man, as ever God's Goodness brought back from a Profligate, a Highway-

Man, and a Robber. I could fill a larger History than this, with the Evidences of this Truth, and but that I doubt that Part of the Story will not be equally diverting, as the wicked Part.

But this is to be my own Story, not my Husbands, I return therefore to my own Part; we went on with our own Plantation, and manag'd it with the Help and Direction of such Friends as we got there, and especially the honest Quaker, who prov'd a faithful, generous, and steady Friend to us; and we had very good Success; for having a flourishing Stock to begin with, as *I have said*; and this being now encreas'd by the addition of a hundred and fifty Pound *Sterling* in Money, we enlarg'd our Number of Servants, built us a very good House, and cur'd every Year a great deal of Land. The second Year I wrote to my old Governess, giving her part with us of the Joy of our Success, and order'd her how to lay out the Money I had left with her, which was 250*l.* as above, and to send it to us in Goods, which she perform'd, with her usual Kindness and Fidelity, and all this arriv'd safe to us.

Here we had a Supply of all Sorts of Cloaths, as well for my Husband as for my self; and I took especial Care to buy for him all those Things that I knew he delighted to have; as two good long Wigs, two Silver Hilted Swords, three or four fine Fowling Pieces, a fine Saddle with Holsters and Pistols very handsome, with a Scarlet Cloak; and in a Word, everything I could think of to oblige him; and to make him appear, as he really was, a very fine Gentleman: I order'd a good Quantity of such Houshold-Stuff, as we wanted, with Linnen for us both; as for my self, I wanted very little of Cloaths, or Linnen, being very well furnish'd before: The rest of my Cargo consisted in Iron-Work of all Sorts, Harness for Horses, Tools, Cloaths

for Servants, and Woollen-Cloth, Stuffs, Serges, Stockings, Shoes, Hats, and the like, such as Servants wear; and whole Pieces also, to make up for Servants, all by Direction of the Quaker; and all this Cargo arrived safe, and in good Condition, with three Women Servants, lusty Wenches, which my old Governess had pick'd up for me, suitable enough to the Place, and to the Work we had for them to do, one of which happen'd to come Double, having been got with Child by one of the Seamen in the Ship, as she own'd afterwards, before the Ship got so far as *Gravesend*; so she brought us a stout Boy, about seven Months after our Landing.

My Husband you may suppose was a little surpriz'd at the arriving of this Cargo from *England*, and talking with me one Day, after he saw the Particulars; my Dear, *says* he, what is the Meaning of all this? I fear you will run us too deep in Debt: When shall we be able to make Returns for it all? I smil'd, and told him that it was all paid for, and then I told him, that not knowing what might befall us in the Voyage, and considering what our Circumstances might expose us to; I had not taken my whole Stock with me, that I had reserv'd so much in my Friend's Hands, which now we were come over safe, and settled in a Way to Live, I had sent for as he might see.

He was amaz'd, and stood awhile telling upon his Fingers, but said nothing, at last he began thus; Hold let's see, *says he, telling upon his Fingers still*; and first on his Thumb, there's 246*l.* in Money at first, then two gold Watches, Diamond Rings and Plate, *says he*, upon the fore Finger, then upon the next Finger, here's a Plantation on *York River*, a 100*l.* a Year, then 150 in Money, then a Sloop load of Horses, Cows, Hogs, and Stores, and so on to the Thumb again; and now, *says he*, a Cargo cost

250*l.* in *England*, and worth here twice the Money, well, *says I*, What do you make of all that? make of it, *says he*, why who says I was deceiv'd, when I married a Wife in *Lancashire*? I think I have married a Fortune, and a very good Fortune too, *says he*.

In a Word, we were now in very considerable Circumstances, and every Year encreasing; for our new Plantation grew upon our Hands insensibly, and in eight Year which we lived upon it, we brought it to such a pitch, that the Produce was, at least, 300*l.* Sterling a Year: I mean, worth so much in *England*.

After I had been a Year at Home again, I went over the Bay to see my Son, and to receive another Year's Income of my Plantation; and I was surpriz'd to hear, just at my Landing there, that my old Husband was dead, and had not been bury'd above a Fortnight. This, I confess, was not disagreeable News, because now I could appear as I was in a marry'd Condition; so I told my Son before I came from him, that I believ'd I should marry a Gentleman who had a Plantation near mine; and tho' I was legally free to marry, as to any Obligation that was on me before, yet that I was shy of it, least the Blot should some time or other be reviv'd, and it might make a Husband uneasy; my Son, the same kind dutiful and obliging Creature as ever, treated me now at his own House, paid me my hundred Pound, and sent me Home again loaded with Presents.

Some time after this, I let my Son know I was marry'd, and invited him over to see us, and my Husband wrote a very obliging Letter to him also, inviting him to come and see him; and he came accordingly some Months after, and happen'd to be there just when my Cargo from *Eng-*

land came in, which I let him believe belong'd all to my Husband's Estate, and not to me.

It must be observ'd, that when the old Wretch, my Brother (Husband) was dead, I then freely gave my Husband an Account of all that Affair, and of this Cousin, as I call'd him before, being my own Son by that mistaken Match: He was perfectly easy in the Account, and told me he should have been easy if the old Man, as we call'd him, had been alive; for, *said he*, it was no Fault of yours, nor of his; it was a Mistake impossible to be prevented; he only reproach'd him with desiring me to conceal it, and to live with him as a Wife, after I knew that he was my Brother, that, he said, was a vile part: Thus all these little Difficulties were made easy, and we liv'd together with the greatest Kindness and Comfort imaginable; we are now grown Old, I am come back to *England*, being almost seventy Years of Age, my Husband sixty eight, having perform'd much more than the limited Terms of my Transportation: And now notwithstanding all the Fatigues, and all the Miseries we have both gone thro', we are both in good Heart and Health; my Husband remain'd there some time after me to settle our Affairs, and at first I had intended to go back to him, but at his desire I alter'd that Resolution, and he is come over to *England* also, where we resolve to spend the Remainder of our Years in sincere Penitence, for the wicked Lives we have lived.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1683.

FINIS.

A SELECTION OF
LETTERS INTRODUCTORY
OR LEADING ARTICLES
CONTRIBUTED BY
DANIEL DEFOE

*TO THE ORIGINAL WEEKLY JOURNAL,
AND SATURDAY'S POST*

commonly known as
APPLEBEE'S JOURNAL

The following LETTERS INTRODUCTORY contributed by Daniel Defoe to The Original Weekly Journal, and Saturday's Post, commonly known as Applebee's Journal, have been chosen not so much for their literary or intrinsic worth as for their relationship, either in matter or style, with The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders. Defoe's first contribution to Applebee's Journal was published on the 25th June 1720, and he continued to write weekly articles for this journal until the 12th of March, 1726. Most of these articles have been reprinted by William Lee, in his Life and Recently Discovered Writings of Daniel Defoe (3 vols, 1869).

The present text is based on that of Lee, but it has been carefully collated with the original issues of Applebee's Journal in the Bodleian Library, and the language of Defoe restored to its original vigour in the several instances where Mr. Lee sacrificed accuracy to mid-Victorian standards of good taste. The titles of the various pieces are not in the original, but have been supplied by the editor.

SELECTED WRITINGS FROM APPLEBEE'S JOURNAL

A FORE-RUNNER OF MOLL FLANDERS

Applebee's Journal, July 16, 1720.

SIR, I find many People send their Cases to *Publick Writers* for their Advice, and I suppose receive Satisfaction by the Answers their Eminences give them back again; or that the making their Cases Publick is *in itself* something of Assistance to them in the several Circumstances they are in, otherwise they would never give themselves and the Authors of *Journals* so much Trouble; now my Case being Extraordinary, you will easily see I have at least as much reason to make it Publick as other People, and therefore I desire to be heard with Patience.

I am, Sir, an *Elder*, and well known Sister, of the *File*, but least all the Readers should not understand the Cant of our Profession, you may take it in plain *English*, I was, in the former part of my Life, an eminent *Pick-Pocket*, and you may observe also, that while I kept in the Employment I was bred up to, I did very well, and kept out of Harms way, for I was so Wary, so Dexterous, kept so retir'd to my self, and did my Work so well, that I was never detected, *no never*, was never pump'd, never taken, and I may add I began to lay up Money, and be beforehand in the World; not that I had any Thought of leaving off My Trade neither; no, nor ever should have done it, if I had been as rich as the best of my Trade in *Exchange Alley*.

But *Curse of ill Company*, I was unhappily drawn a-side out of my ordinary and lawful Calling, into the dangerous Business of *Shop-lifting*; and being not half so clever and nimble at that as I was at my own Trade, I was nab'd by a plaguy Hawks-Ey'd Journey-Man *Mercer*, and so I got into the Hands of the Law.

It went very hard with me upon this Occasion; and, to make my Story short, I run thro' all the *several Ways of being Undone*; I mean the *Newgate Ways*; for I was Tryed, Condemn'd, pleaded my Condition, had a Verdict of the *Jades* they call Matrons in my Favour, and at length having obtain'd a suspicion of Hanging, I got to be Transported.

How I was sent over, or whether sent over or no, and of what use the little Money I had laid up, *as above*, has been to me in all my Tribulation, is not to the present Purpose, and besides is too long a Story to tell in a Letter; it may suffice to the Case in hand to let you know, *and the World by your Means*, that I am at the present Writing hereof among the Number of the Inhabitants of *Old England*: Whether I was Transported, what Adventures I met with abroad, *if I was abroad*, and how I came hither again, I say, are too long for a Letter; *But here I am*.

Now as my being here is a new Trespass, and may bring me back to the Gallows, from whence it may be *truly* said I came; I am not quite so easie as I was before; tho' I am prudently retired to my first Employ, and find I can do pretty well at it; but that which makes me more in Danger is the meeting Yesterday with One of my old Acquaintance; he salutes me publickly in the Street, with a long out-cry; *O brave Moll* says he, *Why what do you do out of your Grave? Was not you Transported?*

The Return of CONVICTS from VIRGINIA 181

Hold your Tongue, *Jack*, says I, for God's Sake! What, have you a mind to ruin me? D --- me, says he, *you Jade* give me a Twelver then, *or I'll tell this Minute*; I was forc'd to do it, and so the Rogue has a Milch Cow of me, as long as I live.

But this is not all, for it may happen, that I may mis-carry in my Business too, and if once I come into the Hands of the unmerciful again, I am gone for ever. Pray give me your Advice, how such a dexterous Sinner, *as I am*, must go on, for this kind of Life does not do now, so cleverly as it us'd to do.

Your Friend and Servant,

MOLL.

Rag-Fair, July 14.

THE RETURN OF CONVICTS FROM
VIRGINIA.

Applebee's Journal, January 26, 1723.

SIR, I have been often thinking to write a line or two to you about the desperate Temper of our wicked People, *I mean those they call convict Felons*, in returning from Transportation, as we see they do daily, at the Peril of their Lives.

How they find ways and means at *Virginia*, and the Places they are carried to, to avoid the Servitude they are Sentenc'd to, and to get Passage back to *England*, is a thing well worth consideration; and I may speak of it by it self; but that is not the present business. No doubt Measures might be taken by the Government's Direction to prevent it, and to make it impossible, so that the poor

wretched Creatures should not have it in their Power to bring themselves to the Gallows as they do every Day; but of that I say hereafter, it is not our present Work.

But what Infatuation is it that possesses the People I am speaking of, that they should at all hazards, nay, almost at a certainty of Death and Shame, push back *as they do* from their Transportation to a Place where, they are as it were, almost as sure to be taken, as they are sure to Dye when they are taken.

It can not be the meer Dread and Terror of the Place and Labour they are doom'd to at *Virginia*, for tho' it be what may be call'd Labour, yet I affirm, it is the best and easiest of its kind, that any Country in the World confines their Criminals to undergo.

It is not like the *Spaniards*, sending them to the Mines to Work a hundred Fathom deep, in the Bowels of the Mountain *Potosi*, and dig up the Silver they are sure never to enjoy an ounce of; they do not Labour with Chains and Clogs upon them, as among the marble Quarries in *Italy*, and in the *Appenin* Mountains of *Genoa*; they do not tug at the Oar, chain'd down to the Bench they sit on, as in the Gallies of *France* and *Spain*; They do not hunt *Sables*, as in *Siberia*, with the Extremity of Cold and Hunger, in the Latitude of 72 Degrees North.

In a Word, their Labour is not harder, or their Usage worse, than many hired Servants in *England* on Yearly Wages; and 'tis evident even before their Eyes, the Negro Servants, even in the same Plantations, and under the same Masters, are in worse Circumstances (infinitely worse) than they; as they are not only us'd worse, but are without Redemption, without Hope, without any end of their Misery, for them or their Posterity.

The Return of CONVICTS from VIRGINIA 183

But here their Time being out, which generally is no more than seven or fourteen Years, they are sure of being Free; and not only so, but have an opportunity of Planting for themselves, and that with such Encouragement, that nothing but a stated Aversion to an honest Life, or to a diligent Application to Business, can prevent their accepting it with the utmost Thankfulness. Nor are they without innumerable Instances on the Spot, which way soever they turn, of good substantial Families, rais'd from the same beginnings; namely, where Offenders like themselves, made sensible of the Danger of Death which they had escap'd, and of the benefit of an industrious Life, which was before them, have applyed themselves to the planting of Land, and by their own Labour and Application, with the Assistance of the Country Bounty, have by little and little, rais'd themselves to good Circumstances, and in the end, by a continual addition, have prosper'd and grown Rich.

It is certain, that every Servant thus finishing the Time of his Servitude, has an Opportunity put into his Hand (as it may be call'd) to set up for himself: He may have Land assign'd him by the Country, and he may have Credit for Cloaths, Tools, and Necessaries for his Support, till what he can prepare and plant may be brought to perfection, and then he pays by the Crop, and gains Credit till the next Crop; so that they cannot say they have no Stock to set up with, no Tools to work with, no Cloths, and the like.

This is a fair offer of Heaven to such Creatures to begin, not only a new Condition of Life, but even a new Life itself; and, which is very particular, here they are sure never to be upbraided with either the Crimes or Misfortunes of their former Life: To be reform'd, is so

much real Credit to them, and is so valued by all about them in that Place, that it is equal, if not superior, even to not having been guilty at all.

Upon their being thus reform'd, and applying themselves with Honesty and Industry to a due Course of Business, they are as sure of rising in the World, as they are sure of Misery and Death in the contrary.

Who then in their Wits would decline wearing out with Patience the Life of Servitude, which is in it self but short, with so certain a Prospect of Safety and Success; who would choose to come back a thousand Leagues, to seek in the stead of it certain Death, Infamy, and the Gallows; and yet we see every Day Examples of these Creatures, who suffer Death for flying from their own Felicity, and who choose to die with Shame rather than to live happy and easy, at the small Expence of five six or seven Years Servitude.

Nor is it less wonderful to observe the Infatuation these Creatures are under, they are not content to venture back and to come over before their time, which is punishable with Death; but they come into the very Places from whence they went, and fall into the same Channel of Crime as that for which they were sent away, if it was a House-breaker, he becomes a House-breaker, if a Pick-pocket, a Pick-pocket, and that in the very same Walks, and among the same Gang of Rogues as before, as if they resolv'd to come to the same Jayl they went out of, whereas would they but change the Place of Action, were the Felon transported from *England* to go back to *Ireland*, or the Felon transported from the City to begin his Practice in the Country, and the Country Felon in the City, and the like; there might be some Room to escape, but harden'd to a Degree, and secure of their

certain State, they come even to the very Spot they were at before, nay, some of them have had the Impudence to come to the very Door of the Prison, and some have been taken not far from it. This is such an Infatuation, as indeed I can give no Account of, and only take Notice of it as a Mark of Astonishment. I shall say more of it hereafter.

Yours, &c.

THE NIECE OF MOLL FLANDERS ADMIRES
JOHN SHEPPARD

Applebee's Journal, November 21, 1724.

MR. APP., I am a poor unfortunate Creature, as my Story will tell you at large, I was born in *Newgate*, the famous *Moll Flanders* was my Aunt, but she met with good Fortune to set her above her poor Relations, and I am left under infinite Disappointments.

I have been Transported twice, and have both times found Ways and Means not only to come back again, but to avoid being Taken again till Acts of Indemnity, and length of Time, gave me leave to appear Abroad.

I have follow'd the Trade of Pilfering, and Stealing some Years, and was got to a tollerable State of Life, that I could now have liv'd without it; but the habit has so become a Nature to me, that I believe I should have walk'd in my sleep to pick Pockets, if I had deny'd my self the liberty of doing it waking, so I have continu'd the Trade a great many Years with uninterrupted Success, and now what strange Thing do you think has befallen me: Would you think it Mr. *App.* that I should have fallen in Love after so much good Education as I have been Mistress of?

But so it is, I have been so deeply in Love with your late Friend *John Sheppard*, that I have been quite distracted. His Escaping with such Dexterity as you have heard out of *Newgate* charm'd me, and if I could have found him during the little time of Liberty he enjoy'd, I had certainly had him.

What tho' I am 20 Year older than he, we should have made a suitable Match in all other things. For as he was the most dexterous House-breaker in *England*; so I pretend to be the cleanest-handed Shop-lift, and the nicest Pick-Pocket in *Europe*. I offer Mr. *App.* to go into a Mercer's Shop, and tell him I come to take such a peice of Silk by slight of Hand, and he shall neither miss the peice, or perceive me touch it, but shall think he sees the peice of Silk lye upon the Comptter all the while.

I never went to *Salters Lecture*, or *St. Lawrence's Church*, and came away without a Gold Watch, or a Tweezer, or some other valuable Prize in my Life. I rarely came empty handed from the *Theatre*, especially, if the Play was anything Popular: I assure you *Cato* was worth about 100 Guineas to me, and yet I reckon the things taken, as we generally sell such things; Namely at half Value.

The last Opera of *Tamerlane* has done pretty well, and as 'tis likely to take, and to be Acted pretty often this Winter, I won't take a 100 Guineas for my Marketing; especially, if the Quality come pretty much to it.

Harlequin has been tollerably Beneficial to me; but the Auditories were a little too much *French*, there was not so many Gold Watches there, as on other Occasions; however, I don't Complain.

Now the Parliament is met, and the Term in being, I am pretty much at *Westminster*; nor is my Success there so mean, but I may get a fair Livelihood; and all this

while, Mr. *App.* if you will believe it, I not only have never been taken, but I have brought the Art of Picking a Pocket to such Perfection, and have such exquisite Skill at it, that I not only have not, but I will not be taken, no never; I say, if you will believe this of me, you must believe also, that I am an extraordinary Person, and that I have an Art something beyond the D---l.

Perhaps you have never heard of me, nor does the Fame of our Profession ever spread to any extraordinary Degree, till they come to *Newgate*; but I have been so long forgotten there, that the present Incumbents, not Mr. --- himself knows any thing of me.

Now had *John Sheppard* and I made a Match, what a clever Couple should we have made, and what Pockets, what fastened Watches, what Purses of Money could have escaped us by Day-light, and what Bolted Shops, or Barricaded Houses have kept me out by Night? In a Word, Mr. *App.* we would have visited *Lombard-Street* it self, no Iron Bars could have kept us out, no Iron Chest have withstood us within; but all is over, poor SHEPPARD is gone, and in him the expertest House-breaker in *England* is gone.

And am I not under a vast Disappointment now, when poor dexterous *Jack* is thus snatch'd from us by his evil Fate, after two of the inimitable Escapes, and after having twice had his Liberty, but not been able to preserve himself.

Alas poor SHEPPARD! I have lost my Love, and all the hopes I had cherish'd of a universal Plunder, are gone so far that I am left under an inexpressible Grief!

Your Humble Servant,

Betty Blewskin (Catch me if you can.)

Nov. 16, 1724.

MOLL FLANDERS' NIECE AS SHOP-LIFTER.

MADAME BLEWSKIN PROPOSES TO PUBLICLY
EXHIBIT HER ART.

Applebee's Journal, November 28, 1724.

MR. APP.,—I wrote you something last Week of the great Disappointment I was under for the Loss of my new Acquaintance, and particular Favourite Mr. *Sheppard*, and how all my Measures were broken upon that sudden Disaster: That I had laid a Design so good in its Nature, and so certainly Advantageous to him, as well as to me, that had he but kept out of the Hands of Justice for this last Time, we should have done wonders.

But now Mr. *App.* since this great Artist at House-breaking is disposed of, I desire you will find me out a Help-meet, a suitable Rogue, whose Dexterity bearing some Proportion to mine, we might still be able to carry on the Trade of House-breaking with as much Success, as I have hitherto carry'd on that of Shop-lifting and Diving.

I gave you in my last some account of the Perfection I was arriv'd to in general. I have had some Thoughts of leaving off that Criminal Part of my Trade, having made a pretty good Hand at it, and being now pretty well to pass, and to set up with my Friend, Mr. V - - s to show it as a new-fashion'd, and true Slight of Hand, in which I make no doubt to give full Satisfaction to all the Gentlemen and Ladies that shall come to see me, and they shall acknowledge that nothing of the like was ever shown in this Age.

In this Case, I make no Question to let the Ladies see, that let them fix their Gold Watches and Tweezer-Cases

ever so fast to their Sides at their coming, they shall not be able to carry one of them off again, without their falling into my Hands, and without I please to restore them, which I shall very generously do.

A Gentleman coming into the Room as well guarded as he pleases, only his Hands not being in his Pocket, shall see me present him with his gold Snuff-Box, which he had plac'd in the securest Fob he had about him, before he can think any one, but the Devil knew where he had put it.

No kind of Trinkets shall hang to the Ladies Watches, or Tweezer-Cases longer than I please, after due Notice taken of the Position they are at first plac'd in.

These and many other most wonderful Performances may be seen upon my Stage, if you think fit to encourage me so much, as to make due Publication of my extraordinary Design, and bring me Customers to supply my Undertaking.

I have also many other ingenious peices of Art, that I may make Experiments of before your Faces for the disposing of silver Hilted Swords, gold Headed Canes; and such Trifles as the Gentlemen being so very vain of upon all occasions, twirl about in their Fingers, as they go along, or as they sit in Coffee-Houses, Chocolate-Houses, &c.

Also for the coming at Pocket-Books, and Letter Cases in *Exchange-Alley*, where the Men of Business are pleas'd for Dispatch to deposite them, in their Coat, or Waistcoat Pocket, and for the nimble running to the *Bank* to receive the Bills, if any are found, or purchasing Plate with them before publick Notice can be given of them in the Prints.

Also for Slight of Hand, in getting Accompting-

Books, Cash-Books, and Days-Books, out of the Tradesmens Shops, and Merchants Compting-Houses, which always fetch a good Premio upon being honestly return'd,—with no Questions ask'd.

Upon examining all these dexterous Performances the Spectators may receive infinite Satisfaction, *as well* to see to what extraordinary proficiency our Trade, or Science is arriv'd, as to see what Measures they ought to take; and in short, the only way to be sure not to lose a gold Watch, or gold Snuff-Box, upon going into any publick Company, Crowd, or Show, is to carry none about you for that as long as the Ladies will show their vanity, and the Gentlemen will show their Pride, in carrying such Things about them, they will certainly fall into such Hands as mine sometime or other.

I have been for sometime studdying the Art of unlocking Fetters, and Irons, breaking through Locks, Bars, and Stone Walls, getting up Chimnies, and over Spikes, scaling Walls of 20 Foot high, &c. But as I am a Woman I find it will not be to my purpose, so I have only looked into the Theory as yet; but I am told there is a young Fellow in the World, that as much out-does *Sheppard*, as *Sheppard* did *Tom Crabb* of *Spittle-Fields*, and that pretends, if ever he gets into Lob's Pound, nothing shall stand before him, I shall tell you more of him, if I find it is matter of Fact; but at present I can say no more than that I expect wonderful Discoveries to be made in the Art of *Free-Masonry*, or Jayl breaking in a few Years more, and that they must find out other sorts of Castles than that of *Newgate*, to confine the Gentry of our Occupation in, or they may have them to look for, when they want them, as they had *Sheppard*.

Your Servant, MR. APP.

MATRIMONIAL LURES AND DEVICES.

Applebee's Journal, March 13, 1725.

MR. *APPLEBEE*,—I am a distress'd Female, tho' I confess I am partly the Cause of my own Distresses too; but that cannot be help'd now: I was put to my shifts a little too young, and falling into cunning Hands, I was advis'd to set up in the World for a Fortune, and that nothing could get me a good Settlement like it.

The Person who put this hint into my Thoughts wanted no Art either to prevail upon me to comply with it, or to direct me in the Management of my self in order to carry it on, and undertook upon certain Conditions, scandalous enough too in the End, to be at a considerable part of the Expence; for, indeed, tho' I had something of my own too, yet it was not considerable enough to support an Equipage and Figure, which it seems she said I was to make.

Upon the whole, I consented, and was accordingly dress'd up for a fine Lady, and one of a great Fortune, and after a great many Intrigues and subtle Management, in which I play'd my Part always as I was directed, I was at last pitch'd upon by a young Gentleman, who not only pretended, but really was Son to a Father vastly rich, and who was able to do wonders for him, but that he was not of Age, and his Father having been a little disgusted at his Conduct in some small Matters, discourag'd him much, and would not do for him yet, but that as he was the Heir, he must have a great Estate at last, and the like.

This Gentleman was represented to me with infinite

Advantage, and indeed, if he had been in worse Circumstances than he really was, if he had courted me fairly, I should not have been very shy of him, nor should I have had any Reason.

But now, as I was to act the part of a Person infinitely above what I really was, I appear'd to be shy of him to the last degree, and when I did admit him it was with Reserves, and with Arguments rais'd upon mighty good Grounds, namely, that I could not think of it except his Father and my own Relations had a meeting, and that Things of that Consequence might be settled, for that I could not be satisfy'd to throw away what little I had, without such Settlement as it was reasonable to expect.

This look'd so like a Lady of Fortune that he knew not what Answer to make, but pretended to act upon another Foot (*viz.*) that he was deeply in Love, that he would do any thing that lay in his Power to secure my Fortune all for my self, or in my own Hands, and the like, and so lay'd close Siege to me in a manner that look'd like one very sincere, and I believe was so.

But all this while I was instructed to hold off, and to appear the more obstinate the more eager he appear'd, and I did so till my Gentleman began to despair, when on a sudden the cunning Manager takes him into her Apartment, and talking very seriously to him, told him she had us'd all the Means possible to perswade me, but that nothing would prevail but to have the Consent of Friends, and so ask'd him if he could not find some Friend to move it to his Father; but he shook his Head, told her she did not know his Father's Temper so well as he did, and that he knew it was not to be done; why then, says she, there is but one Way left, and that I am sure will do, what's that? says he, why to come one

Evening and take us out in a Coach to take the Air, and drive away with her.

He smil'd at the Offer, and tho' he said it was dangerous, yet said he would venture ten times as much to obtain the Lady, and so began to court the Assistance of the cunning Lady, who pretending a vast Kindness to him, told him she would venture her Life to serve him, and so in short they concerted their Measures to take me out to the Play at such a time: I was directed to make a scruple of going unless she, my Friend, went with us which he readily consented to, knowing she was in the Design.

Accordingly at the time he brought a Coach, and we went into it, but when we were in, he starts it as a new Thought, *What if we should take a turn into the Country a little to take the Air?* my Companion immediately answered, ay, ay, so away we drove to the Spring Garden at *Kensington*, where we stay'd till it was dark, and when we came away I was insensibly put into another Coach with four Horses, tho' I did not see the Horses, and hurry'd away to *Brentford*, where being carry'd into a House, he came to me, and told me in a very obliging Manner, that he had laid his Life at my Mercy, and there was no Remedy but I must either hang him or marry him, and used abundance of earnest Importunities.

I desired he would let me consider a little of it, and shew'd myself very uneasy and surpriz'd, as I had indeed done all the way in the Coach, he said to give me time would be to put himself into immediate Ruin, that he would not stir out of the Room, but that if we two had a Mind to consult any thing he would retire as far as the Door, upon my Word of Honour that I would not go to the Window and cry out.

After much importunity I promis'd, so we consulted together, and she made herself two or three times an Ambassador to go between us; however, by her Conduct, he was made believe I was obstinate, which also I pretended, and seem'd to be in a great Passion, so that he might see it.

When this was carry'd on as far as was requisite, she told him I was come to crying, and was at a stand, that she believed I would comply, and so bid him get a Minister, but there was no need, for he had brought a shabby Fellow in a Gown, who came behind the Coach.

In a Word, I was at last huff'd and threatned, and seemingly frighted into it, had the Office of Matrimony read, and whether I said yes or no, was afterwards put to bed, and lay with him there three Nights together, tho' pretendedly ill pleas'd.

Now since all this, it appears too plainly that I am no Fortune, tho' I am not a Beggar neither, but my Lover and Husband is ruin'd by it; he does not know to this Day but that he forced me to it, and may be hang'd if I please, but he dares not speak to his Father, nor differ with me, so that he is desperate and miserable on both sides, and as for me I know not what Course to take, pray, Mr. *Applebee*, give me your Advice.

I am,
your Humble Servant,
NELLY.

A MATRIMONIAL ADVENTURER.

Applebee's Journal, April 3, 1725.

MR. *APPLEBEE*,—Having seen some merry Cases sent you by your Friends concerning the great Advantage of cross-Questions in Matrimony, and the Blessings of bad Husbands and bad Wives; I have thought very often to send you my Case, which is very particular, but have been hinder'd by my apprehensions of being discover'd; however at last I have ventur'd to let you know what a Condition I have been reduc'd to for want of a good Wife.

It is now above 20 Year ago that I began to think I should be very happy if I could get a good Wife, and I assure you I resolv'd with the utmost Sincerity to make a very good Husband; and had I been well us'd I believe I should have done so, but my Fate directed Things quite contrary to my expectation.

To come to the Fact, I chose, woo'd, obtain'd, and marry'd a young, handsome, merry, good humour'd, clever Girl, and very happy I thought myself indeed, and we liv'd together near two Year, had one Child and expected another, when on a sudden one of your dam'd Half-pay Frenchmen came and took a Lodging in our House: I was pleas'd, well enough with the Man, being a civil, mannerly Person, and who gave me a good Rate for his Lodging and Dyet, little thinking of what follow'd: but my Gentleman had not been long with me but I found him very sweet upon my Wife; at first I took it for good Manners only, and what they call a French Freedom, but in short to my great uneasiness, in a little time more I found my Wife as fond of him as he was of her,

and in a little more time, to cut the Story short, for what signifies telling a long Story, being grown not only jealous of ill Usage, but convinc'd it was so, and resolv'd to find it out, I laid a Snare for them, and that so as they were not wary enough to foresee, or not cunning enough to prevent, and, in a Word, catch'd them in the very Fact.

The Frenchman, being made desperate by the plainness of the Discovery, was too much a Soldier for me to venture upon him in my first Fury, and having his Sword and Pistol within reach, stood a Parley with me, so that I only damn'd him a little and withdrew, and my Wife, afraid of my Resentment, sheltered herself under his Protection, and the same Evening pack'd up and fled, her Gallant bringing up the Rear made his Retreat also.

It was not long after this Disaster, when making my Complaint to a Learned Friend, he undertook the Question, and with a great many cogent Arguments, too many to report here, urg'd me to marry again, argu'd the Lawfulness of it, made a trifle of the Forms of Divorce, and insisting that it was Lawful in itself, and that the rest was but Ceremony, told me I ought to make myself amends upon the Whore for abusing me, that I ought not to sacrifice the whole felicity of my Life upon the Accident of a Wife, and live single because she was debauch'd, upon which being easily perswaded to what Nature prompted me to, I resolv'd upon it, and having good Intelligence that my Wife and her Spark were separated, and that she was gone away with another to Jamaica, I concluded I should hear no more of her, so I gave out she was dead, call'd myself a Widower, and soon pick'd up another Wife.

You must note here, that being in pretty good Cir-

cumstances at this first part of my Life, I took more care to please my Fancy than my Judgment, and chose much by my Eye, for I resolv'd always that I would have a handsome Wife; my first was handsome indeed, but my second was a Beauty, and I was mightily pleas'd in the Match: But I that was to be the Subject of the Story was as much disappointed here as before, for in short, in about four Months, I found that my Wife not only was with Child, but that she thicken'd so fast, and grew so near her Time, that it was impossible it should be of my making, and taking the Occasion one Day to question my Wife plainly upon it, and she seeing it was in vain to deceive me, fell into Tears and confess'd it, giving me a full Account how she was drawn in by a Sea Captain, upon solemn Engagements of Marriage, and how he afterwards basely abandoned her, and indeed her story was so moving that I could have forgiven her, but the grand Article of not staying, but venturing to marry me before she either had been delivered, or was sure she had not been with Child, stuck so close to me that I would not be reconciled to her; so she walk'd off, and now I was single the second time.

I have not room here to give you the Detail of my sundry Adventures after this, but you may take it in the gross thus.

I married a third, and she prov'd a common Devil, gave me the foul Disease, and used me like a Dog into the Bargain, had two Husbands alive at the same time, and then run away from me.

I ventured a fourth Time, the former three living, and she prov'd such a termagant Devil that she fought me fairly once or twice, and indeed boxt me to such a Degree, that at last I was forced not to drive her away, for she

would not go, but to pack up my All and run away from her, or I believe she would have murdered me.

Away I went into the North of England, in order to live cheap and retir'd, for I had a little Estate, just a sufficiency to maintain me, there I married a fifth Wife, thinking to live quietly, and out of sight, having chang'd my Name; but it was all one here, for she Yorkshir'd me, after her own Country Fashion, cheated me, and at last robb'd me and run away from me.

From hence I went to Liverpool and shipp'd over to Ireland, I married two Wives there, and both of them prov'd Whores, so I run away from them and took shipping for New York, in America; I had the misfortune to marry three more Wives in several Plantations abroad, but never got one that I could stay with, or that would stay with me; and now I am come back and am going to venture again, pray give me your Opinion, not as to the lawfulness of Marrying now the eleventh Wife, the former ten, *for ought I know* being all alive; but whether you think there is *an honest Woman* left in the World, that a poor Wretch may think it safe to venture on, *or no*,

Your Humble Servant,

Tom Manywife.

The KING *of* PIRATES

Being an Account of
The Famous Enterprizes of
CAPTAIN AVERY

The Mock KING of *Madagascar*.

With his RAMBLES and PIRACIES
wherein all the Sham Accounts
formerly publish'd of
him, are detected.

In Two Letters from Himself;
One during his stay at Madagascar,
and one since his Escape
from thence

THE KING OF PIRATES: *Being an Account of the Famous Enterprizes of CAPTAIN AVERY, the Mock King of Madagascar; with his Rambles and Piracies*
LONDON. A. BETTESWORTH, was first published on December 10th, 1719, in the form of an octavo pamphlet (pp. vi. and 93). A second edition appeared in the following year. It is here reprinted from the original edition.

THE PREFACE

ONE of the particular Advantages of the following Letters from Captain Avery, is, the Satisfaction they will give the Readers how much they have been impos'd upon in the former ridiculous and extravagant Accounts which have been put upon the World in what has been publish'd already.

It has been enough to the Writers of this Man's Life, as they call it, that they could put any Thing together, to make a kind of monstrous unheard-of Story, as romantick as the Reports that have been spread about of him; and the more those Stories appear'd monstrous and incredible, the more suitable they seem'd to be to what the World would have been made to expect of Captain Avery.

There is always a great Difference between what Men say of themselves, and what others say for them, when they come to write Historically of the Transactions of their Lives.

The Publisher of these Letters recommends this Performance to the Readers, to make their Judgment of the Difference between them and the extravagant Stories already told, and which is most likely to be genuine; and, as they verily believe these Letters to be the best and truest account of Captain Avery's Piracies, that ever has or ever will come to the Knowledge of the World, they recommend them as such, and doubt not but they will answer for themselves in the Reading.

The account given of Captain Avery's taking the Great Mogul's Daughter, ravishing and murdering her, and all the Ladies of her Retinue, is so differently related here, and so extravagantly related before, that it cannot but be a Satisfaction to the most unconcern'd Reader, to find such a horrible Piece of Villainy, as the other was suppos'd to be, not to have been committed in the World.

On the contrary, we find here, that, except plundering that Princess of her Jewels and Money to a prodigious Value, a thing which, falling into the Hands of Freebooters, every one that had the Misfortune to fall into such Hands would expect: But, that excepting this, the Lady was used with all the Decency and Humanity, and perhaps, with more than ever Women, falling among Pirates, had found before; especially considering that, by Report, she was a most beautiful and agreeable Person herself, as were also several of those about her.

The Booty taken with her, tho' infinitely great in itself, yet has been so magnify'd beyond common Sense, that it makes all the rest that has been said of those things ridiculous and absurd.

The like Absurdity in the former Relations of this Matter, is that of the making an Offer of, I know not how many Millions to the late Queen, for Captain Avery's Pardon, with a Petition to the Queen, and her Majesty's negative answer; all which are as much true as his being Master of so many Millions of money, which he nor his Gang never had; and of his being proclaim'd King of Madagascar; marrying the Mogul's Daughter, and the like: And, by the Bye, it was but ill laid together of those who publish'd, that he first ravish'd her, then murder'd her, and then marry'd her; all which are very remarkable for the recommending the Thing to those that read it.

If these Stories are explain'd here, and duly expos'd, and the History of Captain Avery set in a fairer Light, the End is answer'd; and of this the Readers are to be the only Judges: But this may be said, without any Arrogance, that this Story, stripp'd of all the romantick, improbable, and impossible Parts of it, looks more like the history of Captain Avery, than any Thing, yet publish'd ever has done; and if it is not prov'd that the Captain wrote these Letters himself, the Publisher says, None but the Captain himself will ever be able to mend them.

THE KING OF PIRATES

YOU may be sure I receiv'd with Resentment enough the Account, that a most ridiculous Book, entitled, *My Life and Adventures*, had been publish'd in *England*, being fully assur'd nothing of Truth could be contain'd in such a Work; and tho' it may be true, that my extravagant Story may be the proper Foundation of a Romance, yet as no Man has a Title to publish it better than I have to expose and contradict it, I send you this by one of my particular Friends, who having an Opportunity of returning into *England*, has promis'd to convey it faithfully to you; by which, at least, two Things shall be made good to the World: first, that they shall be satisfy'd in the scandalous and unjust Manner in which others have already treated me, and it shall give, in the mean Time, a larger Account of what may at present be fit to be made publick, of my unhappy tho' successful Adventures.

I shall not trouble my Friends with any Thing of my Original and first Introduction into the World, I leave it to you to add from yourself what you think proper to be known on that Subject; only this I enjoin you to take Notice of, that the Account printed of me, with all the Particulars of my Marriage, my being defrauded, and leaving my Family and native Country on that Account, is a meer Fable and a made Story, to embellish, as the Writer of it perhaps suppos'd, the rest of his Story, or perhaps to fill up the Book, that it might swell to a Magnitude which his barren Invention could not supply.

In the present Account, I have taken no Notice of my Birth, Infancy, Youth, or any of that Part; which, as it

was the most useless Part of my Years to myself, so 'tis the most useless to any one that shall read this Work to know, being altogether barren of any Thing remarkable in it self or instructing to others: It is sufficient to me to let the World know, as above, that the former Accounts, made publick are utterly false, and to begin my Account of myself at a Period which may be more useful and entertaining.

It may be true, that I may represent some Particulars of my Life, in this Tract, with Reserve or Enlargement, such as may be sufficient to conceal any Thing in my present Circumstance that ought to be conceal'd and reserv'd, with Respect to my own Safety; and therefore, if on Pretence of Justice the busy World should look for me in one Part of the World when I am in another, search for my new Kingdom in *Madagascar*, and should not find it, or search for my Settlement on one Side of the Island when it lies on another, they must not take this ill; for Self-preservation being the supreme Law of Nature, all Things of this Kind must submit to that.

In Order, then, to come immediately to my Story, I shall, without any Circumlocutions, give you Leave to tell the World that being bred to the Sea from a Youth, none of those romantick Introductions publish'd had any Share in my Adventures, or were any way the Cause of my taking the Courses I have since been embark'd in; But as, in several Parts of my wandring Life, I had seen something of the immense Wealth, which the Buccaneers, and other Adventurers, met with in their scouring about the World for Purchase, I had, for a long Time meditated in my Thoughts to get possess'd of a good Ship for that Purpose, if I could, and to try my Fortune. I had been some Years in the Bay of *Campeachy*, and tho' with

Patience I endur'd the Fatigue of that laborious Life, yet it was as visible to others as to myself, that I was not form'd by Nature for a Logwood-Cutter, any more than I was for a Foremast-man; and therefore Night and Day I apply'd myself to study how I should dismiss myself from that Drudgery, and get to be, first or last, Master of a good Ship, which was the utmost of my Ambition at that Time; resolving in the mean Time that whenever any such Thing should happen, I would try my Fortune in the Cruising Trade, but would be sure not to prey upon my own Countrymen.

It was many Years after this before I could bring my Purposes to pass; and I serv'd first, in some of the Adventures of Captain *Sharp*, Captain *Sawkins*, and others, in their bold Adventures in the South Seas, where I got a very good Booty; was at the taking of *Puna*, where we were oblig'd to leave infinite Wealth behind us, for want of being able to bring it away; and, after several Adventures in those Seas, was among that party who fought their Way Sword in Hand thro' all the Detachments of the *Spaniards*, in the Journey over Land, cross the Isthmus of *Darien*, to the North Seas; and when other of our Men gat away, some one Way, some another, I, with twelve more of our Men, by Help of a *Periagua*, got into the Bay of *Campeachy*, where we fell very honestly to cutting of Logwood, not for Want, but to employ ourselves till we could make off.

Here three of our Men dy'd, and we that were left shar'd their Money among us; and having stay'd here two Years, without seeing any Way of Escape that I dar'd to trust to, I at last, with two of our Men, whospoke *Spanish* perfectly well, made a desperate Attempt to travel over Land to L——, having bury'd all our Money

(which was worth eight thousand Pieces of Eight a Man, tho' most of it in Gold) in a Pit in the Earth, which we dug twelve Foot deep, and where it would have lyen still, for no Man knew where to look for it; but we had an Opportunity to come at it again some Years after.

We travell'd along the Sea-shore five Days together, the Weather exceeding hot, and did not doubt but we should so disguise ourselves as to be taken for *Spaniards*; but our better Fortune provided otherwise for us, for the sixth Day of our March we found a Canoe lying on the Shore with no one in her: We found, however, several Things in her, which told us plainly that she belong'd to some *Englishmen* who were on Shore, so we resolv'd to sit down by her and wait: By and by we heard the *Englishmen*, who were seven in Number, and were coming back to their Boat, having been up the Country to an *Ingenio*, where they had gotten great Quantities of Provision, and were bringing it down to their Boat which they had left on the Shore (with the Help of five Indians, of whom they had bought it), not thinking there was any People thereabouts: When they saw us, not knowing who we were, they were just going to fire at us; when I, perceiving it, held up a white Flag as high as I could reach it, which was in short, only a Piece of an old Linnen Wastcoat which I had on, and pull'd it off for the Occasion; upon this, however, they forbore firing at us, and when they came nearer to us, they could easily see that we were their own Countrymen: They enquir'd of us what we came there for; we told them, we had travell'd from *Campeachy*, where, being tir'd with the Hardships of our Fortune, and not getting any Vessel to carry us where we durst go, we were even desperate, and cared not what became of us; so that had not they come to us thus happily, we should have put

ourselves into the Hands of the *Spaniards* rather than have perish'd where we were.

They took us into their Boat, and afterwards carry'd us on Board their Ship; when we came there, we found they were a worse Sort of Wanderers than ourselves; for though we had been a Kind of Pyrates, known and declar'd Enemies to the *Spaniards*, yet it was to them only, and to no other; for we never offer'd to rob any of our other *European* Nations, either *Dutch* or *French*, much less *English*; but now we were listed in the Service of the Devil indeed, and, like him, were at War with all Mankind.

However, we not only were oblig'd to sort with them, while with them, but in a little Time the Novelty of the Crime wore off, and we grew harden'd to it like the rest; And in this Service I spent four Years more of my Time.

Our Captain in this Pirate Ship was nam'd *Nichols*, but we call'd him Captain *Redband*; it seems it was a *Scots* Sailor gave him that Name, when he was not the Head of the Crew, because he was so bloody a Wretch, that he scarce ever was at the taking any Prize, but he had a Hand in some Butchery or other.

They were hard put to it for fresh Provisions, or they would not have sent thus up into the Country a single Canoe; and when I came on Board, they were so straiten'd, that, by my Advice, they resolv'd to go to the Isle of *Cuba* to kill wild Beef, of which the South Side of the Island is so full: Accordingly we sail'd thither directly.

The Vessel carried sixteen Guns, but was fitted to carry twenty two, and there was on Board one hundred and sixty stout Fellows, as bold and as case-harden'd for the Work as ever I met with upon any Occasion whatever. We victual'd in this Place for eight Months, by our Cal-

culation; but our Cook, who had the Management of the Salting and Pickling the Beef, order'd his Matters so, that had he been let alone he would have starv'd us all, and poison'd us too; for as we are oblig'd to hunt the black Cattle in the Island sometimes a great while before we can shoot them, it should be observ'd that the Flesh of those that are heated before they are kill'd is not fit to be pickled or salted up for Keeping.

But this Man, happening to pickle up the Beef, without Regard to this particular Distinction, most of the Beef so pickled, stunk before we left the Place, so that we were oblig'd to throw it all away: The Men then said it was impossible to salt any Beef in those hot Countries, so as to preserve it, and would have had us given it over, and ha' gone to the Coast of *New England*, or *New York*, for Provisions; but I soon convinc'd them of the Mistake, and by only using the Caution, *viz.*, not to salt up any Beef of those Cattle that had been hunted, we cur'd one hundred and forty Barrels of very good Beef, and such as lasted us a very great while.

I began to be of some Repute among them upon this Occasion, and *Redband* took me into the Cabbin with him to consult upon all Emergencies, and gave me the Name of Captain, though I had then no Command: By this means I gave him an Account of all my Adventures in the South Seas, and what a prodigious Booty we got there with Captain *Goignet*, the *Frenchman*, and with Captain *Sharp*, and others; encouraging him to make an Attempt that Way, and proposing to him to go away to the *Brazils*, and so round by the Straits of *Magellan* or *Cape Horn*.

However, in this he was more prudent than I, and told me, that not only the Strength but the Force of his Ship

was too small; not but that he had Men enough, as he said, very well, but he wanted more Guns, and a better Ship, for, indeed the Ship we were in was but a weak crazy Boat for so long a Voyage: So he said he approv'd my project very well, but that he thought we should try to take some more substantial Vessel for the Business. And says he, if we could but take a good stout Ship, fit to carry thirty Guns, and a Sloop, or Brigantine, he would go with all his Heart.

This I could not but approve of; so we form'd the Scheme of the Design, and he call'd all his Men together, and propos'd it to them, and they all approv'd it with a general Consent; and I had the Honour of being the Contriver of the Voyage. From this Time we resolv'd, somehow or other, to get a better Ship under us, and it was not long before an Opportunity presented to our Mind.

Being now upon the Coast of the Island of *Cuba*, we stood away West, coasting the Island, and so went away for *Florida*, where we cruis'd among the Islands, and in the Wake of the Gulph, but nothing presented a great while; at length we spy'd a Sail, which prov'd an *English* homeward-bound ship from *Jamaica*. We immediately chac'd her, and came up with her; she was a stout Ship, and the Captain defended her very well; and had she not been a comber'd deep Ship, being full loaded, so that they could scarce come at their Guns, we should have had our Hands full of her. But when they found what we were, and that, being full of Men, we were resolv'd to be on Board them, and that we had hoisted the black Flag, a Signal that we would give them no Quarter, they began to sink in their Spirits, and soon after cry'd Quarter, offering to yield: *Redband* would have given them no Quarter, but, according to his usual Practice, would have thrown

the Men all into the Sea; but I prevail'd with him to give them Quarter, and good Usage too, and so they yielded; and a very rich Prize it was, only that we knew not what to do with the Cargo.

When we came to consider more seriously the Circumstances we were in by taking this Ship, and what we should do with her, we found that she was not only deep loaden, but was a very heavy Sailer, and that, in short, she was not such a Ship as we wanted; so, upon long Debate, we resolv'd to take out of her all the Rum, the Indigo, and the Money we could come at, with about twenty Casks of Sugar, and twelve of her Guns, with all the Ammunition, small Arms, Bullets, &c., and let her go, which was accordingly done, to the great Joy of the Captain that commanded her. However, we took in her about six thousand Pounds Sterling in Pieces of Eight.

But the next Prize we met, suited us better on all Accounts, being a ship from *Kingsale*, in *Ireland* loaden with Beef, and Butter, and Beer for *Barbadoes*; never was Ship more welcome to Men in our Circumstances; this was the very Thing we wanted: We saw the Ship early in the Morning at about five Leagues' Distance, and we was three Days in Chase of her; she stood from us, as if she would have run away for the *Cape de Verd Islands*, and two or three Times we thought she sail'd so well she would have got away from us, but we had always the good Luck to get Sight of her in the Morning: She was about 260 Tun, an *English* Frigat-built Ship, and had 12 Guns on board, but could carry 20. The Commander was a Quaker, but yet had he been equal to us in Force, it appear'd by his Countenance he would not have been afraid of his Flesh, or have baulk'd using the Carnal Weapon of Offence, *viz.*, the Cannon-Ball.

We soon made ourselves Master of this Ship when once we came up with her, and she was every Thing that we wanted; so we began to shift our Guns into her, and shifted about 60 Tun of her Butter and Beef into our own Frigate; this made the *Irish* Vessel be a clear Ship, lighter in the Water, and have more Room on Board for Fight if occasion offer'd.

When we had the old Quaking Skipper on Board, we ask'd him whether he would go along with us; he gave us no Answer at first; but when we ask'd him again, he return'd that he did not know whether it might be safe for him to answer the Question: We told him he should either go or stay, as he pleas'd. Why then, says he, I had rather ye will give me Leave to decline it.

We gave him Leave, and accordingly set him on Shore afterwards at *Nevis* with ten of his Men; the rest went along with us as Volunteers, except the Carpenter and his Mate, and the Surgeon, those we took by Force: We were now supply'd as well as Heart could wish, had a large Ship in our Possession, with Provisions enough for a little Fleet rather than for a single Ship. So with this Purchase we went away for the *Leeward Islands*, and fain we would have met with some of the *New York* or *New England* Ships, which generally come loaden with Peas, Flower, Pork, &c. But it was a long while before any Thing of that Kind presented. We had promis'd the *Irish* Captain to set him on Shore, with his Company, at *Nevis*, but we were not willing till we had done our Business in those Seas, because of giving the *Alarm* among the Islands; so we went away for *St. Domingo*, and making that Island our Rendezvous, we cruis'd to the Eastward, in Hopes of some Purchase. It was not long before we spy'd a Sail which prov'd to be a *Burmoodas* Sloop, but bound

from *Virginia* or *Maryland*, with Flower, Tobacco, and some Malt, the last a Thing which, in particular, we knew not what to do with: However, the Flower and Tobacco was very welcome, and the Sloop no less welcome than the rest; for she was a very large Vessel and carry'd near 60 Tun, and when not so deep loaden, prov'd an excellent Sailer. Soon after this we met with another Sloop, but she was bound from *Barbadoes* to *New England*, with Rum, Sugar, and Molosses: Nothing disturb'd us in taking this Vessel, but that being willing enough to let her go; (for as to the Sugar and Molosses, we had neither Use for them, or Room for them); but to have let her go, had been to give the Alarm to all the Coast of *North America*, and then what we wanted would never come in our Way. Our Captain, justly called *Redband*, or *Bloodyband*, was presently for dispatching them, that they might tell no Tales and, indeed, the Necessity of the Method had very near prevail'd; nor did I much interpose here, I know not why; but some of the other Men put him in as good a Way; and that was, to bring the Sloop to an Anchor under the Lee of *St Domingo*, and take away all her Sails, that she should not stir till we gave her Leave.

We met with no less than five Prizes more here in about 20 Days' Cruise, but none of them for our Turn; one of them, indeed, was a Vessel bound to *St Christopher's* with *Madera Wine*: We borrow'd about 20 Pipes of the Wine, and let her go. Another was a *New-England* built Ship of about 150 Tun, bound also Home with Sugar and Molosses, which was good for nothing to us; however, we gat near 1000 l. on Board her in Pieces of Eight, and taking away her Sails, as before, brought her to an Anchor under the Lee of the Sloop: At last we met with what we wanted, and this was another Ship of about 100

Tun, from *New England*, bound to *Barbadoes*; she had on board 150 Barrels of Flower, about 350 Barrels of Pease, and 10 Tun of Pork barrell'd up and pickl'd, besides some live Hogs, and some Horses, and six Tun of Beer.

We were now sufficiently provided for; in all those Prizes we got also about 56 Men, who, by Choice and Volunteer, agree'd to go along with us, including the Carpenters and Surgeons, who we oblig'd always to go; so that we were now above 200 Men, two Ships, and the *Burmoodas* Sloop; and giving the other Sloop and the *New England* homeward bound Ship their Sails again, we let them go; and as to the Malt which we took in the *Burmoodas* Sloop, we gave it the last *New England* Master, who was going to *Barbadoes*.

We got in all those Ships, besides the Provisions above-mention'd, about 200 Muskets and Pistols, good store of Cutlasses, about 20 Tun of Iron Shot and Musket Ball, and 33 Barrels of good Powder, which was all very suitable things to our Occasions.

We were fully satisfy'd, as we said to one another, now, and concluded that we would stand away to the Windward as well as we could, towards the Coast of *Africa*, that we might come in the Wind's Way for the coast of *Brasil*; but our Frigat (I mean that we were first shipp'd in) was yet out upon the Cruise, and not come in; so we came to an Anchor to wait for her, when, behold, the next Morning she came in with full Sail and a Prize in Tow. She had, it seems, been farther West than her Orders, but had met with a *Spanish* Prize, whither bound, or from whence, I remember we did not enquire, but we found in her, besides Merchandise which we had no Occasion for, 65,000 Pieces of Eight in Silver, some Gold, and two Boxes of

Pearl of a good Value; five *Dutch*, or rather *Flemish*, Seamen that were on Board her were willing to go with us; and as to the rest of the Cargo, we let her go; only, finding four of her Guns were Brass, we took them into our Ship, with seven great Jars of Powder and some Cannon-shot, and let her go, using the *Spaniards* very civilly.

This was a Piece of meer good Fortune to us, and was so encouraging as nothing could be more, for it set us up, as we may say; for now we thought we could never fail of good Fortune, and we resolv'd, one and all, directly to the South Seas.

It was about the middle of *August* 1690 that we set forward, and steering E. by S. and E.S.E. for about fifteen Days, with the Winds at N.N.W. variable, we came quickly into the Trade Winds, with a good Offing, to go clear of all the Islands; and so we steered directly for *Cape St Augustin*, in the *Brasils*, which we made the 22nd of *September*.

We cruised some time upon the Coast about the Bay of *All Saints*, and put in once or twice for fresh Water, especially at the Island of *St John's*, where we got good Store of Fish and some Hogs, which, for fresh Provisions, was a great Relief to us: But we got no Purchase here; for whether it was that their *European* Ships were just come in, or just gone out, we know not, or whether they suspected what we were, and so kept close within their Ports, but in thirteen Days that we ply'd off and on about *Pernambouque*, and about fourteen days more that we spent in coasting along the Brasil Shore to the South, we met not one Ship, neither saw a Sail, except of their Fishing-Boats or small Coasters, who kept close under Shore.

We cross'd the Line about here the latter End of *September*, and found the Air exceeding hot and unwhole-

some, the Sun being in the *Zenith*, and the Weather very wet and rainy; so we resolv'd to stand away South without looking for any more Purchase on that Side.

Accordingly we kept on to the South, having tolerable good Weather, and keeping the Shore all the Way in View till we came the Length of *St Julien*, in the Latitude of 48 Degrees 22 Minutes South; here we put in again, being the Beginning of *November*, and took in fresh Water, and spent about ten Days, refreshing ourselves, and fitting our Tackle; all which Time we liv'd upon Penguins and Seals, of which we kill'd an innumerable Number; and when we prepar'd to go, we salted up as many Penguins as we found would serve our whole Crew, to eat them twice a Week as long as they would keep.

Here we consulted together about going thro' the Straits of *Magellan*; but I put them quite out of Conceit of making that troublesome and fatiguing Adventure, the Straits being so hazardous, and so many Winds requir'd to pass them; and having assur'd them, that in our Return with *Bat Sharp*, we went away to the Latitude of 55 Degrees 30 minutes, and then steering due East, came open with the North Seas in five Days' Run, they all agreed to go that Way.

On the 20th of *November* we weigh'd from Port *Julien* and having a fair wind at N.E. by E., led it away merrily, till we came into the Latitude of 54, when the Wind veering more Northerly, and then to the N.W., blowing hard, we were driven into 55 Degrees and half; but lying as near as we could to the Wind, we made some Westward Way withal: The 3rd of *December* the Wind came up South, and S.E. by S., being now just as it were at the Beginning of the Summer Solstice in that Country.

With this Wind, which blew a fresh Gale, we stood

away N.N.W., and soon found ourselves in open Sea to the west of *America*, upon which we haul'd away N. by E. and N.N.E., and then N.E., when, on the 20th of *December*, we made the Land, being the coast of *Chili*, in the latitude of 41 Degrees, about the height of *Baldivia*; and we stood out from hence till we made the Isle of *St Juan Fernando*, where we came to an Anchor, and went on Shore to get fresh Water; also some of our Men went a-hunting for Goats, of which we kill'd enough to feed us all with fresh Meat for all the while we stay'd here, which was 22 Days (Jan. 11).

During this Stay we sent the Sloop out to Cruise, but she came back without seeing any Vessel; after which we order'd her out again more to the North, but she was scarce gone a League when she made a Signal that she saw a Sail, and that we should come out to help them; Accordingly the Frigat put to Sea after them, but making no Signal for us to follow, we lay still, and work'd hard at cleaning our Ship, shifting some of the Rigging, and the like.

We heard no more of them in three Days, which made us repent sorely that we had not gone all three together; but the third Day they came back, tho' without any Prize, as we thought, but gave us an Account that they had chased a great Ship and a Bark all Night and the next Day; that they took the bark the Evening before, but found little in her of Value; that the great Ship ran on Shore among some Rocks, where they durst not go in after her, but that manning out their Boats, they got on Shore so soon, that the Men belonging to her durst not land; that then they threaten'd to burn the Ship as she lay, and burn them all in her, if they did not come on Shore and surrender: They offer'd to surrender, giving them their Li-

berty, which our Men would not promise at first; but after some Parly and arguing on both Sides, our Men agreed thus far, that they should remain Prisoners for so long as we were in those Seas, but that as soon as we came to the Height of *Panama*, or if we resolv'd to return sooner, then they should be set at Liberty; and to these hard Conditions they yielded.

Our Men found in the Ship 6 Brass Guns, 200 Sacks of Meal, some Fruit, and the Value of 160,000 Pieces of Eight in Gold of *Cbili*, as good as any in the World: It was a glittering Sight, and enough to dazzle the Eyes of those that look'd on it, to see such a Quantity of Gold laid all of a Heap together, and we began to embrace one another in Congratulation of our good Fortune.

We brought the Prisoners all to the Island *Fernando*, where we used them very well, built little Houses for them, gave them Bread, and Meat, and every Thing they wanted; and gave them Powder and Ball to kill Goats with, which they were fully satisfy'd with, and kill'd a great many for us too.

We continu'd to Cruise (Feb. 2) hereabout, but without finding any other Prize for near three Weeks more; so we resolv'd to go up as high as *Puna*, the Place where I had been so lucky before; and we assur'd our Prisoners that in about two Months we would return, and relieve them; but they chose rather to be on Board us, so we took them all in again, and kept on with an easy Sail at a proper Distance from Land, that we might not be known, and the Alarm given; for as to the Ship which we had taken, and which was stranded among the Rocks, as we had taken all the Men out of her, the People on the Shore, when they should find her, could think no other than that she was driven on Shore by a Storm, and that all the

People were drown'd, or all escap'd and gone; and there was no Doubt but that the Ship would beat to Pieces in a very few Days.

We kept, I say, at a Distance from the Shore, to prevent giving the Alarm; but it was a needless Caution, for the Country was all alarm'd on another Account, *viz.*, about 130 bold Buccaneers had made their Way over Land, not at the Isthmus of *Darien*, as usual, but from *Granada*, on the Lake of *Nicaragua* to the north of *Panama*, by which, tho' the Way was longer, and the Country not so practicable as at the ordinary Passage, yet they were unmolested, for they surpriz'd the Country; and whereas the *Spaniards*, looking for them at the old Passage, had drawn Entrenchments, planted Guns, and posted Men at the Passages of the Mountains to intercept them and cut them off, here they met with no *Spaniards*, nor any other Obstruction in their Way, but, coming to the South Sea, had Time, undiscover'd, to build themselves Canoes and Periaguas, and did a great deal of Mischiefe upon the Shore, having been follow'd, among the rest, by 80 men more, commanded by one *Guilotte*, a *Frenchman*, an old Buccaneer; so that they were now 210 men, and they were not long at Sea before they took two *Spanish* Barks, going from *Guatemala* to *Panama* loaden with Meal, Coco, and other Provisions; so that now they were a Fleet of two Barks, with several Canoes and Periaguas, but no Guns, nor any more Ammunition than every one carry'd at first at their Backs.

However, this Troop of Desperadoes had alarm'd all the Coast, and Expresses both by Sea and Land were despatch'd to warn the Towns on the Coast to be upon their Guard, all the way from *Panama* to *Lima*; but as they were represented to be only such Freebooters as I have

said, Ships of Strength did not desist their Voyages, as they found Occasion, as we shall observe presently: We were now gotten into the latitude of 10, 11, and 12 Degrees and a Half; but, in our over much Caution, had kept out so far to Sea that we miss'd every Thing which would otherwise have fallen into our Hands; but we were better inform'd quickly, as you shall hear.

Early in the Morning one of our Men being on the Mizzen-top cry'd, A sail! a sail; it prov'd to be a small Vessel standing just after us; and, as we understood afterwards, did so, believing that we were some of the King's Ships looking after the Buccaneers. As we understood she was a Stern of us, we shorten'd Sail and hung out the *Spanish* Colours, separating ourselves, to make him Suppose we were cruising for the Buccaneers, and did not look for him; however, when we saw him come forward, but stretching in a little towards the Shore, we took Care to be so much to Starboard that he could not escape us that Way; and when he was a little nearer, the Sloop plainly chac'd him, and in a little Time came up with him, and took him: We had little Goods in the Vessel, their chief Loading being Meal and Corn for *Panama*, but the Master happen'd to have 6000 Pieces of Eight in his Cabin, which was good Booty.

But that which was better than all this to us was, that the Master gave us an account of two Ships which were behind, and were under sail for *Lima* or *Panama*; the one having the Revenues of the Kingdom of *Chili*, and the other having a great Quantity of Silver going from *Puna* to *Lima*, to be forwarded from thence to *Panama*, and that they kept together, being Ships of Force, to protect one another. How they did it we soon saw the Effects of.

Upon this Intelligence we were very joyful, and as-

sur'd the Master that, if we found it so, we would give him his Vessel again, and all his Goods, except his Money; as for that, we told him such People as we never return'd it any Body: However, the Man's Intelligence prov'd good, for the very next Day, as we were standing South-West, our *Spanish* Colours being out, as above, we spy'd one of the Ships, and soon after the other; we found they had discover'd us also, and that, being doubtful what to make of us, they tack'd and stood Eastward to get nearer the Land; we did the like, and as we found there was no letting them go that Way, but that we should be sure to lose them, we soon let them know that we were resolv'd to speak with them.

The biggest Ship, which was three Leagues a-Stern of the other, crowded in for the Shore with all the Sail she could make, and it was easy for us to see that she would escape us; for as she was a great deal further in with the Land than the other when we first gave Chace, so in about three Hours we saw the Land plain a-Head of us, and that the great Ship would get into Port before we could reach her.

Upon this we stretch'd a-Head with all the Sail we could make, and the Sloop, which crowded also very hard, and out-went us, engag'd the small Ship at least an Hour before we could come up: But she could make little of it, for the *Spanish* ship, having 12 Guns and 6 Patereroes, would have been too many for the Sloop if we had not come up: However, at length, our biggest Ship came up also, and, running up under her Quarter, gave her our whole Broadside; at which she struck immediately, and the *Spaniards* cry'd *Quarter* and *Misericordia*; Upon this, our Sloop's men enter'd her presently and secur'd her.

In the Beginning of this Action, it seems, our *Redband*

Captain was so provok'd at losing the greater Prize, which, as he thought, had all the Money on Board, that he swore he would not spare one of the Dogs (so he call'd the *Spaniards* in the other Ship); but he was prevented, and it was very happy for the *Spaniards*, that the first Shot the Ship made towards us, just as we were running up to pour in our Broadside,—I say, the first shot took Captain *Redband* full on the Breast, and shot his Head and one Shoulder off, so that he never spoke more, nor did I find that any one Man in the Ship shew'd the least concern for him; so certain it is that Cruelty never recommends any Man among *Englishmen*; no, tho' they have no share in the suffering under it; But one said, D—n him; let him go; he was a butcherly Dog; another said, D—n him; he was a merciless son of a B—ch; another said, He was a barbarous dog, and the like.

But to return to the Prize, being now as certain of the smaller Prize as that we had miss'd the great one, we began to examine what we had got; and it is not easy to give an exact Account of the prodigious Variety of things we found: In the first Place, were 116 Chests of Pieces of Eight in Specie, 72 Bars of Silver, 15 Bags of wrought Plate, which a Fryer that was on Board would have persuaded us, for the Sake of the Blessed Virgin, to have return'd, being, as he said, consecrated Plate to the Honour of the holy Church, the Virgin *Mary*, and *St Martin*; but, as it happen'd, he could not persuade us to it; also we found about 60000 Ounces of Gold, some in little Wedges, some in Dust. We found several other Things of Value, but not to be named with the rest.

Being thus made surprisingly rich, we began to think what Course we should steer next; for as the great Ship which was escap'd would certainly alarm the Country,

we might be sure we should meet with no more Purchase at Sea, and we were not very fond of landing, to attack any Town on Shore. In this Consultation 'tis to be observ'd, that I was, by the unanimous Consent of all the Crew, made Captain of the great Ship, and of the whole Crew; the whole Voyage hither, and every Part of it, having, for some Time before, been chiefly manag'd by my Direction, or at least by my Advice.

The first Thing I propos'd to them all, was, seeing we had met with such good Luck, and that we could not expect much more, and, if we stay'd longer in these Seas, should find it very hard to revictual our Ships, and might have our Retreat cut off by *Spanish* Men of War (five of which we heard were sent out after the other Buccaneers), we should make the best of our Way to the South, and get about into the North Seas, where we were out of all Danger.

In Consequence of this Advice, which was generally approv'd, we stood away directly South, and the Wind blowing pretty fair at N.N.E. a merry Gale, we stood directly for the Isle of *Juan Fernando*, carrying our rich Prize with us.

We arriv'd here the Beginning of *June*, having been just six Months in those Seas. We were surpriz'd, when, coming to the Island, we found two Ships at an Anchor close under the Lee of the Rocks, and two little Periaguas farther in, near the Shore; but being resolv'd to see what they were, we found, to our Satisfaction, they were the Buccaneers of whom I have spoken above; The Story is too long to enter upon here; but, in short, without Guns, without Ship, and only coming overland with their Fusees in their Hands, they had rang'd these Seas, and taken several Prizes, and some pretty rich, and had got two

pretty handsome Barks; one carry'd six Guns, and the other four; they had shar'd, as they told us, about 400 Pieces of Eight a Man; besides, one Thing they had which we were willing to buy of them; they had about 100 Jars of Gunpowder, which they took out of a Store-Ship going to *Lima*.

If we were glad to meet them, you may be sure they were glad to meet with us, and so we began to sort together as one Company; only they were loth to give over and return, as we were, and which We had now resolv'd on.

We were so rich ourselves, and so fully satisfy'd with what we had taken, that we began to be bountiful to our Countrymen; and indeed they dealt so generously with us, that we could not but be inclin'd to do them some Good; for when we talk'd of buying their gunpowder, they very frankly gave us 50 Jars of it *gratis*.

I took this so kindly that I call'd a little Council among ourselves, and propos'd to send the poor Rogues 50 Barrels of our Beef, which we could very well spare; and our Company agreeing to it, we did so, which made their Hearts glad; for it was very good, and they had not tasted good Salt-beef for a long Time; and with it we sent them two Hogsheads of Rum: This made them so hearty to us, that they sent two of their Company to compliment us, to offer to enter themselves on Board us, and to go with us all the World over.

We did not so readily agree to this at first, because we had no new Enterprize in View; but, however, as they sent us Word they had chosen me so unanimously for their Captain, I propos'd to our Men to remove ourselves and all our Goods, into the great Ship and the Sloop, and so take the honest Fellows into the Frigat, which now

had no less than 22 Guns, and would hold them all, and then they might sail with us, or go upon any Adventures of their own, as we should agree.

Accordingly we did so, and gave them that Ship, with all her Guns and Ammunition, but made one of our own Men Captain, which they consented to, and so we became all one Body.

Here also we shar'd our Booty, which was great indeed to a Profusion; and as keeping such a Treasure in every Man's particular private Possession would have occasion'd Gaming, Quarrelling, and perhaps Thieving and Pilfering, I order'd that so many small Chests should be made as there were Men in the Ship, and every Man's Treasure was nail'd up in these Chests, and the Chests all stow'd in the Hold, with every man's Name upon his Chest, not to be touch'd but by general Order; and to prevent Gaming, I prevail'd with them to make a Law or Agreement, and every one to set their Hands to it; by which they agreed, That if any Man play'd for any more Money than he had in his Keeping, the Winner should not be paid, whatever the Loser run in Debt, but the Chest containing every Man's Dividend should be all his own, to be deliver'd whole to him; and the Offender, whenever he left the Ship, if he would pay any Gaming Debts afterward, that was another Case, but such Debts should never be paid while he continu'd in that Company.

By this means also we secur'd the Ship's Crew keeping together; for if any Man left the Ship now, he was sure to leave about 6000 Pieces of Eight behind him, to be shar'd among the rest of the Ship's Company, which few of them car'd to do.

As we were now all embark'd together, the next Question was, Whither we should go? As for our Crew, we

were so rich, that our Men were all for going back again, and so to make off to some of the *Leeward Islands*, that we might get a-Shore privately with our Booty: But as we had shipp'd our new Comrades on Board a good Ship, it would be very hard to oblige them to go back without any Purchase; for that would be to give them a Ship to do them no Good, but to carry them back to *Europe* just as they came out from thence, *viz.*, with no Money in their Pockets.

Upon these Considerations we came to this Resolution, That—they should go out to Sea and Cruise the Height of *Lima*, and try their Fortune, and that we would stay 60 days for them at *Juan Fernando*.

Upon this Agreement they went away very joyful, and we fell to work to new rig our Ship, mending our Sails, and cleaning our Bottom. Here we employ'd ourselves a Month very hard at Work; our Carpenters also took down some of the Ship's upper Work, and built it, as we thought, more to the Advantage of Sailing; so that we had more Room within, and yet did not lie so high.

During this Time we had a tent set up on Shore, and 50 of our men employ'd themselves wholly in killing Goats and Fowls for our fresh Provisions; and one of our men understanding we had some Malt left on Board the Ship, which was taken in one of the Prizes, set up a great Kettle on Shore and went to work to Brewing, and, to our great Satisfaction, brew'd us some very good Beer; but we wanted Bottles to keep it in after it had stood a while in the Cask.

However, he brew'd us very good Small Beer, for present Use, and instead of Hops he found some wild Wormwood growing on the Island, which gave it no unpleasant Taste, and made it very agreeable to us.

Before the Time was expir'd, our Frigat sent a Sloop to us, which they had taken, to give us Notice that they were in a small Creek near the Mouth of the River *Guayaquil*, on the Coast of *Peru*, in the Latitude of 22 Degrees. They had a great Booty in View, there being two Ships in the River of *Guayaquil*, and two more expected to pass by from *Lima*, in which was a great Quantity of Plate; that they waited there for them, and begg'd we would not think the Time long; but that if we should go away, they desir'd that we would fix up a Post, with a Piece of Lead on it, signifying where they should come to us, and wherever it was, East or West, North or South, they would follow us with all the Sail they could make.

A little while after this, they sent another Sloop, which they had taken also; and she brought a vast Treasure in Silver and very rich Goods, which they had got in plundering a Town on the Continent; and they order'd the Sloop to wait for them at the Island where we lay, till their Return: But they were so eager in the Pursuit of their Game, that they could not think of coming back yet, neither could we blame them, they having such great Things in View: So we resolv'd, in pursuit of our former Resolution, to be gone; and after several Consultations among our selves in what Part of the World we should pitch our Tent, we broke up at first without any Conclusion.

We were all of the Opinion, that our Treasure was so great, that wherever we went, we should be a Prey to the Government of that Place; that it was impossible to go all on Shore and be conceal'd; and that we should be so jealous of one another, that we should certainly betray one another, every one for fear of his Fellow; that is to say, for fear the other should tell first. Some therefore propos'd our going about the South Point of Cape *Horne*, and that

then, going away to the Gulph of *Mexico*, we should go on Shore at the Bay of *Campeachy*, and from thence disperse ourselves as well as we could, and every one go his own Way.

I was willing enough to have gone thither, because of the Treasure I had left there under Ground; but still I concluded we were (as I have said) too rich to go on Shore anywhere to separate, for every Man of us had too much Wealth to carry about us; and if we separated, the first Number of Men any of us should meet with, that were strong enough to do it, would take it from us, and so we should but just expose ourselves to be murder'd for that Money we had gotten at so much Hazard.

Some propos'd then our going to the Coast of *Virginia*, and go some on Shore in one Place, and some in another privately, and so travelling to the Sea-Ports where there were most People, we might be conceal'd, and by Degrees reduce ourselves to a private Capacity, every one shifting Home as well as they could. This I acknowledge might be done, if we were sure none of us would be false one to another; but while Tales might be told, and the Teller of the Tale was sure to save his own Life and Treasure, and make his Peace at the Expence of his Comrades, there was no Safety; and they might be sure, that as the Money would render them suspected wherever they came, so they would be examin'd, and what by faltering in their Story, and by being cross-examin'd kept apart, and the one being made to believe the other had betray'd him and told all, when indeed he might have said nothing to hurt him, the Truth of Fact would be dragg'd out by Piece-meal, till they would certainly at last come to the Gallows.

These Objections were equally just, to what Nation or

Place soever we could think of going: So that upon the whole, we concluded there was no Safety for us but by keeping all together, and going to some Part of the world where we might be strong enough to defend ourselves, or be so conceal'd till we might find out some Way of Escape that we might not now be so well able to think of.

In the Middle of all these Consultations, in which I freely own I was at a Loss, and could not tell which Way to advise, an old Sailor stood up, and told us, if we would be advis'd by him, there was a Part of the World where he had been where we might all settle ourselves undisturb'd, and live very comfortably and plentifully, till we could find out some Way how to dispose of ourselves better; and that we might easily be strong enough for the inhabitants, who would at first, perhaps, attack us, but that afterwards they would sort very well with us, and supply us with all Sorts of Provisions very plentifully, and this was the Island of *Madagascar*: He told us we might live very well there. He gave us a large Account of the Country, the Climate, the People, the Plenty of Provisions which was to be had there, especially of black Cattle, of which, he said, there was an infinite Number, and consequently a Plenty of Milk, of which so many other Things was made: In a Word, he read us so many Lectures upon the Goodness of the Place and the Conveniency of living there, that we were, one and all, eager to go thither, and concluded upon it.

Accordingly, having little left to do (for we had been in a sailing Posture some Weeks), we left Word with the Officer who commanded the Sloop, and with all his Men, that they should come after us to *Madagascar*; and our Men were not wanting to let them know all our Reasons for going thither, as well as the Difficulties we found of

going anywhere else, which had so fully possess'd them with the Hopes of further Advantage, that they promis'd for the rest that they would all follow us.

However, as we all calculated the Length of the Voyage, and that our Water, and perhaps our Provisions, might not hold out so far, but especially our Water, we agreed, that having pass'd Cape *Horn*, and got into the North Seas, we would steer Northward, up the East Shore of *America* till we came to *St Julien*, where we would stay at least fourteen Days to take in Water, and to store ourselves with Seals and Penguins, which would greatly eek out our Ship's Stores; and that then we should cross the great *Atlantick* Ocean in a milder Latitude than if we went directly, and stood immediately over from the Passage about the Cape, which must be, at least, in 55 or 56; and perhaps, as the Weather might be, would be in the Latitude of 60 or 61.

With this Resolution, and under these Measures, we set Sail from the Island of *St Juan Fernando* the 23rd of *September* (being the same there as our *March* is here) and keeping the Coast of *Chili* on Board, had good Weather for about a Fortnight (Octob. 14), till we came into the Latitude of 44 Degrees South; when finding the Wind come squally off the Shore from among the Mountains, we were oblig'd to keep farther out at Sea, where the Winds were less uncertain; and some Calms we met with, till about the Middle of *October* (16.), when the Wind springing up at N.N.W. a pretty moderate Gale, we jogg'd S.E. and S.S.E. till we came into the Latitude of 55 Degrees, and the 16th of *November*, found our selves in 59 Degrees, the Weather exceeding cold and severe. But the Wind holding fair, we held in with the Land, and steering E.S.E., we held that Course till we thought our-

selves entirely clear of the Land, and enter'd into the North Sea, or *Atlantick Ocean*; and then changing our Course, we steer'd N. and N.N.E.; but the Wind blowing still at N.N.W. a pretty stiff Gale, we could make nothing of it till we made the Land in the Latitude of 52 Degrees, and when we came close under Shore, we found the Winds variable; so we made still N. under the Lee of the Shore, and made the Point of St *Julien* the 13th of *November*, having been a Year and seven Days since we parted from thence on our Voyage Outwardbound.

Here we rested ourselves, took in fresh Water, and began to kill Seals and Fowls of several Sorts, but especially Penguins, which this Place is noted for; and here we stay'd in Hopes our Fregate would arrive, but we heard no News of her; so, at Parting, we set up a Post with this Inscription, done on a Plate of Lead, with our Names upon the Lead, and these words:—

Gone to Madagascar, December 10, 1692;
(Being in that Latitude the longest Day in the Year;) and I doubt not but the post may stand there still.

From hence we launch'd out into the vast *Atlantick Ocean*, steering our Course E. by N. and E.N.E. till we had sail'd, by our Account, about 470 Leagues, taking our Meridian Distance, or Departure, from St *Julien*; And here a strong Gale springing up at S.E. by E. and E.S.E., encreasing afterwards to a violent Storm, we were forc'd by it to the Norward, as high as the *Tropick*, not that it blew a Storm all the while, but it blew so steady, and so very hard, for near 20 Days together, that we were carry'd quite out of our intended Course: After we had weather'd this, we began to recover ourselves again, making still East; and endeavouring to get to the Southward, we had yet another hard Gale of Wind at S. and S.S.E. so

strong, that we could make nothing of it at all; whereupon it was resolv'd, if we could, to make the Island of *St Helena*, which, in about three Weeks more, we very happily came to, on the 17th of *January*.

It was to our great Satisfaction that we found no Ships at all here, and we resolv'd not by any Means to let the Governor on Shore know our Ship's Name, or any of our Officer's Names; and I believe our Men were very true to one another in that Point, but they were not at all shy of letting them know upon what Account we were, &c.; so that if he could have gotten any of us in his Power, as we were afterwards told he endeavour'd by two or three Ambuscades to do, we should have pass'd our time but very indifferently; for which, when we went away, we let him know we would not have fail'd to have beat his little Fort about his Ears.

We stay'd no longer here than just served to refresh ourselves and supply our Want of fresh Water; the wind presenting fair (February 2, 1692,) we set sail, and (not to trouble my Story with the Particulars of the Voyage, in which nothing remarkable occur'd) we doubled the Cape the 13th of *March*, and passing on without coming to an Anchor, or discovering ourselves, we made directly to the Island of *Madagascar*, where we arriv'd the 7th of *April*; the Sloop, to our particular Satisfaction, keeping in Company all the Way, and bearing the Sea as well as our Ship upon all Occasions.

To this Time I had met with nothing but good Fortune; Success answer'd every Attempt, and follow'd every Undertaking, and we scarce knew what it was to be disappointed; but we had an Interval of our Fortunes to meet with in this Place: We arriv'd, as above, at the Island on the 13th of *March*, but we did not care to make

the South Part of the Island our Retreat; nor was it a proper Place for our Business, which was to take Possession of a private, secure place to make a Refuge of; So after staying some Time where we put in, which was on the Point of Land a little to the South of Cape *St Augustine*, and taking in Water and Provisions there, we stood away to the North, and keeping the Island in View, went on till we came to the Latitude of 14 Degrees: Here we met with a very terrible Tornado, or *Hurricane*, which, after we had beat the Sea as long as we could, oblig'd us to run directly for the Shore to save our Lives as well as we could, in Hopes of finding some Harbour or Bay where we might run in, or at least might go into smooth Water till the Storm was over.

The Sloop was more put to it than we were in the great Ship, and being oblig'd to run afore it, a little sooner than we did, she serv'd for a Pilot-Boat to us which follow'd; in a Word, she run in under the Lee of a great Headland which jetted far out into the Sea, and stood very high also, and came to an Anchor in three Fathom and a half Water: We follow'd her, but not with the same good Luck, tho' we came to an Anchor too, as we thought, safe enough; but the sea going very high, our Anchor came Home in the Night, and we drove on shore in the dark among the Rocks, in spite of all we were able to do.

Thus we lost the most fortunate Ship that ever Man sail'd with; however, making Signals of Distress to the sloop, and by the Assistance of our own Boat, we sav'd our Lives; and the Storm abating in the Morning, we had Time to save many Things, particularly our Guns and most of our Ammunition; and, which was more than all the rest, we sav'd our Treasure: Tho' I mention the saving our Guns first, yet they were the last Things we sav'd

being oblig'd to break the upper Deck of the Ship up for them.

Being thus got on Shore, and having built us some Huts for our Conveniency, we had nothing before us but a View of fixing our Habitations in the Country; for tho' we had the Sloop, we could propose little Advantage by her; for as to cruising for booty among the *Arabians* or *Indians*, we had neither Room for it or Inclination to it; and as for attacking any *European* Ship, the Sloop was in no Condition to do it, tho' we had all been on Board, for every Body knows that all the Ships trading from *Europe* to the *East Indies* were Ships of Force, and too strong for us; so that in short, we had nothing in View for several Months but how to settle ourselves here, and live as comfortably and as well as we could, till something or other might offer for our Deliverance.

In this Condition we remain'd on Shore above eight Months, during which time we built us a little Town, and fortify'd it by the Direction of one of our Gunners, who was a very good Engineer, in a very clever and regular Manner, placing a very strong double Palisado round the Foot of our Works, and a very large Ditch without our Palisado, and a third Palisado beyond the Ditch, like a Counterscarp or Cover'd way; besides this, we rais'd a large Battery next to the Sea, with a Line of 24 Guns plac'd before it, and thus we thought ourselves in a Condition to defend ourselves against any Force that could attempt us in that Part of the World. And besides all this, the Place on which our Habitation was built being an Island, there was no coming easily at us by Land.

But I was far from being easy in this Situation of our Affairs; so I made a Proposal to our Men one Day, that tho' we were well enough in our Habitation, and wanted

for nothing, yet since we had a Sloop here, and a Boat so good as she was, 'twas Pity she should lye and perish there, but we should send her Abroad and see what might happen; that perhaps it might be our good Luck to surprise some Ship or other for our Turn, and so we might all go to Sea again: The Proposal was well enough relish'd at first Word, but the great Mischief of all was like to be this, That we should all go together by the Ears upon the Question who should go in her: My secret Design was laid, that I was resolv'd to go in her myself, and that she should not go without me; but when it began to be talk'd of, I discover'd the greatest seeming Resolution not to stir, but to stay with the rest, and take Care of the main Chance, that was to say, the Money.

I found, when they saw that I did not propose to go myself, the Men were much the easier, for at first they began to think it was only a Project of mine to run away from them; and so indeed it was: However, as I did not at first propose to go myself, so when I came to the Proposal of who should go, I made a long Discourse to them of the Obligation they had all to be faithful one to another, and that those who went in the Sloop, ought to consider themselves and those that were with them to be but one Body with those who were left behind; that their whole Concern ought to be to get some good Ship to fetch them off: At last, I concluded, with a Proposal, that whoever went in the Sloop should leave his Money behind in the common Keeping, as it was before; to remain as a Pledge for his faithful performing the Voyage, and coming back again to the Company, and should faithfully swear that wherever they went, (for as to the Voyage, they were at full Liberty to go whither they would), they would certainly endeavour to get back to *Madagascar*, and that if

they were cast away, stranded, taken, or whatever befell them, they should never rest till they got to *Madagascar*, if it was possible.

They all came most readily into this Proposal, for those who should go into the Sloop, but with this Alteration in them (which was easy to be seen in their Countenances), *viz.*, that from that Minute there was no striving who should go, but every Man was willing to stay where they were: This was what I wanted, and I let it rest for two or three Days; when I took Occasion to tell them, that seeing they all were sensible that it was a very good Proposal to send the Sloop out to Sea, and see what they could do for us, I thought it was strange they should so generally show themselves backward to the Service for fear of parting from their Money; I told them that no Man need be afraid, that the whole Body should agree to take his Money from him without any pretended Offence, much less when he should be Abroad for their Service: But however, as it was my Proposal, and I was always willing to hazard myself for the Good of them all, so I was ready to go on the Conditions I had propos'd to them for others, and I was not afraid to flatter myself with serving them so well Abroad, that they should not grudge to restore me my Share of Money when I came Home, and the like of all those that went with me.

This was so seasonably spoken, and humour'd so well, that it answer'd my Design effectually, and I was voted to go *nemine contradicente*; then I desir'd they would either draw Lots for who and who should go with me, or leave it in my absolute Choice to pick and cull my Men. They had for some Time agreed to the first, and forty Blanks were made for those to whose Lot it should come to draw a Blank to go in the Sloop; but then it was said, this might

neither be a fair nor an effectual Choice; for Example, if the needful Number of Officers, and of particular Occupations should not happen to be lotted out, the Sloop might be oblig'd to go out to Sea without a Surgeon, or without a Carpenter, or without a Cook, and the like: So, upon second Thoughts, it was left to me to name my Men; so I chose me out forty stout Fellows, and among them several who were trusty bold Men, fit for any thing.

Being thus Mann'd, the Sloop rig'd, and having clear'd her Bottom, and laid in Provisions enough for a long Voyage, we set Sail the 3rd of *January* 1694, for the *Cape of Good Hope*. We very honestly left our Money, as I said, behind us; only that we had about the Value of 2000 Pound in Pieces of Eight allowed us on Board for any Exigence that might happen at Sea.

We made no Stop at the *Cape*, or at *St Helena*, tho' we pass'd in sight of it, but stood over to the *Caribbee* Islands directly, and made the Island of *Tobago* the 18th of *February*, where we took in fresh Water, which we stood in great Need of, as you may judge by the Length of the Voyage. We sought no Purchase, for I had fully convinc'd our Men, that our Business was not to appear, as we were used to be, upon the Cruise, but as Traders; and to that end I propos'd to go away to the Bay of *Campeachy* and load Logwood, under the Pretence of selling of which we might go any where.

It is true, I had another Design here, which was to recover the Money which my Comrade and I had bury'd there; and having the Man on Board with me to whom I had communicated my Design, we found an Opportunity to come at our Money with Privacy enough, having so conceal'd it, as that it would have lain there to the general Conflagration if we had not come for it ourselves.

My next Resolution was to go for *England*, only that I had too many Men, and did not know what to do with them: I told them we could never pretend to go with a Sloop loaden with Logwood to any Place, with 40 Men on Board, but we should be discover'd; but if they would resolve to put 15 or 16 men on shore as private Seamen, the rest might do well enough; and if they thought it hard to be set on Shore, I was content to be one; only that I thought it was very reasonable that whoever went on Shore should have some Money given them, and that all should agree to rendezvous in *England*, and so make the best of our Way thither, and there perhaps we might get a good Ship to go fetch off our Comrades and our Money. With this Resolution, sixteen of our Men had three hundred Pieces of Eight a Man given them, and they went off thus; the Sloop stood away North, thro' the Gulph of *Florida*, keeping under the shore of *Carolina* and *Virginia*; so our men dropp'd off as if they had deserted the Ship; three of the sixteen run away there, five more went off at *Virginia*, three at *New York*, three at *Road Island*, and myself and one more at *New England*; and so the Sloop went away for *England* with the rest. I got all my Money on Shore with me, and conceal'd it as well as I could; Some I got Bills for, some I bought Molosses with, and turn'd the rest into Gold; and dressing myself, not as a common Sailor, but as a Master of a Ketch which I had lost in the Bay of *Campeachy*, I got Passage on Board one Captain *Guillame*, a *New England* Captain, whose Owner was one Mr. *Johnson*, a Merchant, living at *Hackney*, near *London*.

Being at *London*, it was but a very few Months before several of us met again, as I have said we agreed to do; And being true to our first Design of going back to our Comrades, we had several close Conferences about the Man-

ner and Figure in which we should make the Attempt—and we had some very great Difficulties appear'd in our Way. First, to have fitted up a small Vessel, it would be of no Service to us, but be the same Thing as the Sloop we came in; and if we pretended to a great Ship, our Money would not hold out; so we were quite at a Stand in our Councils what to do, or what Course to take, till at length our Money still wasting, we grew less able to execute any Thing we should project.

This made us all desperate; when, as desperate Distempers call for desperate Cures, I started a Proposal which pleas'd them all, and this was, that I would endeavour among my Acquaintance, and with what Money I had left (which was still sixteen or seventeen hundred Pound), to get the Command of a good Ship, bearing a quarter Part or thereabout myself, and so having got into the Ship and got a Freight, the rest of our Gang should all enter on Board as Seamen, and whatever Voyage we went, or wheresoever we were bound, we would run away with the Ship and all the Goods, and so go to our Friends as we had promis'd.

I made several Attempts of this Kind, and once bought a very good Ship call'd *The Griffin*, of one *Snelgrove*, a Shipwright, and engag'd the Persons concern'd to hold a Share in her, and fit her out on a Voyage for *Leghorn* and *Venice*, when it was very probable the Cargo, to be shipp'd on board casually by the Merchant would be very Rich; but Providence, and the good Fortune of the Owner, prevented this Bargain, for without any Objection against me, or Discovery of my Design in the least, he told me afterwards his Wife had an ugly Dream or two about the Ship; once, that it was set on Fire by Lightning, and he had lost all he had in it; another Time, that the men had

mutiny'd and conspir'd to kill him; and that his Wife was so averse to his being concern'd in it, that it had always been an unlucky Ship, and that therefore his Mind was chang'd; that he would sell the whole Ship, if I would, but he would not hold any Part of it himself.

Tho' I was very much disappointed at this, yet I put a very good Face upon it, and told him, I was very glad to hear him tell me the Particulars of his Dissatisfaction; for if there was any Thing in Dreams, and his Wife's Dream had any Signification at all, it seem'd to concern me (more than him), who was to go the Voyage and command the Ship; and whether the Ship was to be burnt, or the Men to mutiny, tho' Part of the Loss might be his, who was to stay on Shore, all the Danger was to be mine, who was to be at Sea in her; and then, as he had said, she had been an unlucky Ship to him, it was very likely she would be so to me; and therefore I thank'd him for the Discovery, and told him I would not meddle with her.

The Man was uneasy, and began to waver in his Resolution, and had it not been for the continued Importunities of his Wife, I believe would have come on again; for People generally incline to a thing that is rejected, when they would reject the same Thing when profer'd: But I knew it was not my business to let myself be blow'd upon, so I kept to my Resolution and wholly declin'd that Affair, on Pretence of its having got an ill Name for an unlucky Ship; and that Name stuck so to her, that the Owners could never sell her, and, as I have been inform'd since, were oblig'd to break her up at last.

It was a great while I spent with hunting after a Ship, but was every Way disappointed, till Money grew short, and the Number of my Men lessen'd apace, and at last we were reduc'd to seven, when an Opportunity hap-

pen'd in my Way to go Chief-Mate on Board a stout Ship bound from London to ——.

[N.B.—*In Things so modern, it is no Way convenient to write to you particular Circumstances and Names of Persons, Ships, or Places, because those Things, being in themselves criminal, may be call'd up in Question in a judicial Way; and therefore I warn the Reader to observe, that not only all the Names are omitted, but even the Scene of Action in this Criminal Part is not laid exactly as Things were acted, lest I should give Justice a Clue to unravel my Story by, which no Body will blame me for avoiding.*]

It is enough to tell the Reader that, being put out to sea, and being for Conveniency of Wind and Weather come to an Anchor on the Coast of *Spain*, my seven Companions having resolv'd upon our Measures, and having brought three more of the Men to confederate with us, we took up arms in the middle of the Night, secured the Captain, the Gunner, and the Carpenter, and after that, all the rest of the Men, and declar'd our Intention: The Captain and nine Men refus'd to come into our projected Roguery (for we gave them their Choice to go with us, or go on Shore), so we put them on Shore very civilly, gave the Master his Books, and every Thing he could carry with him; and all the rest of the Men agreed to go along with us.

As I had resolv'd, before I went on Board, upon what I purpos'd to do, so I had laid out all the Money I had left in such Things as I knew I should want, and had caus'd one of my men to pretend he was going to —— to build or buy a Ship there, and that he wanted Freight for a great deal of Cordage, Anchors, eight Guns, Powder and Ball, with about 20 Tun of lead and other bulky Goods, which were all put on Board as Merchandise.

We had not abundance of Bail-Goods on Board, which

I was glad of; not that I made any Conscience or Scruple of carrying them away, if the Ship had been full of them, but we had no Market for them: Our first Business was to get a larger Store of Provision on board than we had, our Voyage being long; and having acquainted the Men with our Design, and promis'd the new Men a Share of the Wealth we had there, which made them very hearty to us, we set Sail: We took in some beef and fish at ———, where we lay fifteen Days, but out of all Reach of the Castle or Fort; and having done our Business, sail'd away for the *Canaries*, where we took in some Butts of Wine, and some fresh water: With the Guns the Ship had, and those eight I had put on Board as Merchandize, we had then two and thirty Guns mounted, but were but slenderly Mann'd, tho' we got four *English* Seamen at the *Canaries*; but we made up the Loss at *Fiall*, where we made bold with three *English* Ships we found, and partly by fair Means, and partly by Force, shipp'd twelve Men there; after which, without any farther Stop for Men or Stores, we kept the Coast of *Africa* on Board 'till we pass'd the Line, and then stood off to *St Helena*.

Here we took in fresh Water and some fresh Provisions, and went directly for the *Cape of Good Hope*, which we pass'd, stopping only to fill about 22 Butts of Water, and, with a fair Gale, enter'd the Sea of *Madagascar*, and sailing up the West Shore between the Island and the Coast of *Africa*, came to an Anchor over against our Settlement, about two Leagues' Distance, and made the Signal of our Arrival, with firing twice seven Guns at the Distance of a Two-Minute Glass between the Seven, when, to our infinite Joy, the Fort answer'd us, and the Long-boat, the same that belong'd to our former ship, came off to us.

We embrac'd one another with inexpressible Joy, and the next Morning I went on Shore, and our Men brought our Ship safe into Harbour, lying within the Defence of our Platform, and within two Cables' length of the Shore, good soft Ground, and in eleven Fathom Water, having been three Months and eighteen Days on the Voyage, and almost three Years absent from the Place.

When I came to look about me here, I found our Men had increas'd their Number, and that a Vessel which had been cruising, that is to say, Pirating, on the Coast of *Arabia*, having seven *Dutchmen*, three *Portuguese*, and five *Englishmen* on Board, had been cast away upon the Northern Shore of that Island, and had been taken up and reliev'd by our Men, and liv'd among them. They told us also of another Crew of *European* Sailors, which lay, as we did, on the Main of the Island, and had lost their Ship, and were, as the Islanders told them, above a hundred Men, but we heard nothing who they were.

Some of our Men were dead in the mean Time, I think about three; and the first Thing I did was to call a Muster and see how Things stood as to Money: I found the Men had been very true to one another; there lay all the money in Chests piled up as I left it, and every Man's Money having his Name upon it: Then acquainting the rest with the Promise I had made the Men that came with me, they all agreed to it: so the Money belonging to the dead Men, and to the rest of the forty Men who belong'd to the Sloop, was divided among the Men I brought with me, as well those who join'd at first, as those we took in at the *Cape de Verd* and the *Canaries*. And the Bails of Goods which we found in the Ship, many of which were valuable for our own use, we agreed to give them all to the fifteen Men mention'd above, who had been sav'd by our Men, and so

to buy what we wanted of those Goods of them, which made their Hearts glad also.

And now we began to consult what Course to take in the World. As for going to *England*, though our Men had a great Mind to be there, yet none of them knew how to get thither, notwithstanding I had brought them a Ship; but I, who had now made myself too publick to think any more of *England*, had given over all Views that Way, and began to cast about for farther Adventures; for tho', as I said, we were immensely rich before, yet I abhorr'd lying still, and burying myself alive, as I call'd it, among Savages and Barbarians; besides, some of our Men were young in the Trade, and had seen nothing, and they lay at me every Day not to lie still in a Part of the World where, as they said, such vast Riches might be gain'd; and that the *Dutchmen* and *Englishmen* who were cast away, as above, and who our men call'd the *Comelings*, were continually buzzing in my Ears what infinite Wealth was to be got, if I would but make one Voyage to the coast of *Malabar*, *Coromandel*, and the Bay of *Bengale*; nay, the three *Portuguese* Seamen offer'd themselves to attack and bring off one of their biggest Galleons, even out of the Road of *Goa*, on the *Malabar* Coast, the Capital of the *Portuguese* Factories in the *Indies*.

In a Word, I was overcome with these new Proposals, and told the rest of my People, I was resolv'd to go to Sea Again and try my good Fortune. I was sorry I had not another Ship or two, but if ever it lay in my Power to master a good Ship, I would not fail to bring her to them.

While I was thus fitting out upon this new Undertaking, and the Ship lay ready to Sail, and all the Men who were design'd for the Voyage were on Board, being 85 in

Number, among which were all the Men I brought with me, the 15 Comelings, and the rest made up out of our old Number, I say, when I was just upon the Point of setting Sail, we were all surpriz'd, just in the Grey of the Morning, to spy a Sail at Sea; we knew not what to make of her, but found she was an *European* ship; that she was not a very large Vessel, yet that she was a Ship of Force too: She seem'd to shorten Sail, as if she looked out for some Harbour; at first Sight I thought she was *English*; immediately I resolv'd to slip Anchor and Cable, and go out to Sea and speak with her, if I could, let her be what she would: As soon as I was got a little clear of the Land, I fir'd a gun and spread *English* Colours: She immediately brought to, fir'd three Guns, and mann'd out her Boat with a flag of Truce: I did the like, and the two Boats spoke to one another in about two Hours, when, to our infinite Joy, we found they were our Comrades who we left in the South Seas, and to whom we gave the Fregate at the Isle of *Juan Fernando*.

Nothing of this Kind could have happen'd more to our mutual Satisfaction, for tho' we had long ago given them over either for Lost, or Lost to us, and we had no great Need of Company, yet we were overjoy'd at meeting, and so were they too.

They were in some Distress for Provisions, and we had Plenty; so we brought their Ship in for them, gave them a present Supply, and when we had help'd them to moor and secure the Ship in the Harbour, we made them lock all their Hatches and Cabins up, and come on Shore, and there we feasted them five or six Days, for we had a Plenty of all Sorts of Provisions, not to be exhausted; and if we had wanted an hundred Head of fat Bullocks, we could have had them for asking for of the Natives, who treated

us all along with all possible Courtesy and Freedom in their way.

The History of the Adventures and Success of these Men from the Time we left them to the Time of their Arrival at our new Plantation, was our whole Entertainment for some Days. I cannot pretend to give the Particulars by my Memory; but as they came to us *Thieves*, they improv'd in their Calling to a great Degree, and, next to ourselves, had the greatest Success of any of the Buccaneers whose Story has ever been made publick.

I shall not take upon me to vouch the whole Account of their Actions, neither will this Letter contain a full History of their Adventures; but if the Account which they gave us was true, you may take it thus:—

First, that having met with good Success after they left us, and having taken some extraordinary Purchase, as well in some Vessels they took at Sea, as in the Plunder of some Towns on the Shore near *Guayaquil*, as I have already told you, they got Information of a large Ship which was loading the King's Money at *Puna*, and had Orders to sail with it to *Lima*, in order to its being carry'd from thence to *Panama* by the Fleet, under the Convoy of the *Flotilla* or Squadron of Men of War which the King's Governor at *Panama* had sent to prevent their being insulted by the Pirates, which they had Intelligence were on the Coast, by which, we suppose, they meant us who were gone, for they could have no Notion of these Men then.

Upon this Intelligence they cruis'd off and on upon the Coast for Near a Month, keeping always to the Southward of *Lima*, because they would not fall in the Way of the said *Flotilla*, and so be overpower'd and miss of their Prize. At last they met with what they look'd for, that is

to say, they met with the great Ship above-nam'd: But, to their great Misfortune and Disappointment (as they first thought it to be), she had with her a Man of War for her Convoy, and two other Merchant Ships in her Company.

The Buccaneers had with them the Sloop which they first sent to us for our Intelligence, and which they made a little Frigate of, carrying eight Guns and some Patere-roes: They had not long Time to consult, but, in short they resolv'd to double-man the Sloop, and let her attack the great Merchant-Ship, while the Frigate, which was the whole of their Fleet, held the Man of War in Play, or at least kept him from assisting her.

According to this Resolution, they put 50 Men on Board the Sloop, which was, in short, almost as many as would stand upon her Deck one by another; and with this Force they attack'd the great Merchant-Ship, which, besides its being well mann'd, had 16 good Guns and about 30 Men on Board. While the Sloop thus began the unequal Fight, the Man of War bore down upon her to succour the Ship under her Convoy; but the Frigate, thrusting in between, engag'd the Man of War, and began a very warm Fight with her, for the Man of War had both more Guns and more Men than the Frigate after she had parted with 50 Men on Board the Sloop: While the two Men of War, as we may now call them, were thus engag'd, the Sloop was in great Danger of being worsted by the Merchant-Ship, for the Force was too much for her, the Ship was great, and her Men fought a desperate and close Fight: Twice the Sloop-Men enter'd her and were beaten off, and about nine of their men kill'd, several others wounded; and an unlucky Shot taking the sloop between Wind and Water, she was oblig'd to fall a-Stern, and heel her over to stop the Leak, during which the *Spaniards*

steer'd away to assist the Man of War, and pour'd her Broadside in upon the Fregate, which, tho' but small, yet at a Time when she lay Yard-arm and Yard-arm close by the Side of the *Spanish* Man of War, was a great Extremity; however, the Fregate return'd her Broadside, and therewith made her sheer off, and, which was worse, shot her Main-Mast thro', though it did not come presently by the Board.

During this Time the Sloop, having many Hands, had stopp'd the Leak, was brought to rights again, and came up again to the Engagement, and at the first Broadside had the good luck to bring the Ship's Foremast by the Board, and thereby disabl'd her; but could not for all that lay her athwart, or carry her by Boarding, so that the Case began to be very doubtful; at which the Captain of the Sloop, finding the Merchant Ship was disabled and could not get away from them, resolv'd to leave her a while and assist the Fregate, which he did, and running a-Longside our Fregate, he fairly laid the Man of War on Board just thwart his Hawser; and besides firing into her with his great Shot, he very fairly set her on Fire, and it was a great Chance but that they had been all three burnt together, but our Men helped the *Spaniards* themselves to put out the Fire, and after some Time master'd it. But the *Spaniards* were in such a terrible Fright at the Apprehension of the Fire, that they made little Resistance afterwards, and, in short, in about an Hour's Fight more, the *Spanish* Man of War struck, and was taken, and after that the Merchant Ship also, with all the Wealth that was in her: and thus their Victory was as compleat as it was Unexpected.

The Captain of the *Spanish* Man of War was kill'd in the Fight, and about 36 of his Men, and most of the rest wounded, which, it seems, happen'd upon the Sloop's ly-

ing athwart her. This Man of War was a new Ship, and, with some Alteration in her upper Work, made a very good Frigate for them; and they afterwards quitted their own Ship, and went all on Board the *Spanish* Ship, taking out the Main-Mast of their own Ship, and making a new Fore-Mast for the *Spanish* Ship, because her Fore-Mast was also weaken'd with some Shot in her; this, however, cost them a great deal of Labour and Difficulty, and also some Time; when they came to a certain Creek, where they all went on Shore, and refresh'd themselves a while.

But if the taking the Man of War was an unexpected Victory to them, the Wealth of the Prize was much more so, for they found an amazing Treasure on Board her, both in Silver and Gold, and the Account they gave me was but imperfect; but I think they calculated the Pieces of Eight to be about 13 Tun in Weight; besides that, they had 5 small Chests of Gold, some Emeralds, and, in a Word, a prodigious Booty.

They were not, however, so modest in their Prosperity as we were, for they never knew when to have done; but they must Cruise again to the Northward for more Booty, when, to their great Surprise, they fell in with the Flotilla, or Squadron of Men of War, which they had so studiously avoided before, and were so surrounded by them, that there was no Remedy but they must fight, and that in a kind of Desperation, having no Prospect now but to sell their Lives as dear as they could.

This unlucky Accident befel them before they had chang'd their Ship, so that they had now the Sloop and both the Men of War in Company, but they were but thinly mann'd; and as for the Booty, the greater Part of it was on Board the Sloop—that is to say, all the Gold and Emeralds, and near half the Silver.

When they saw the Necessity of Fighting, they order'd the Sloop, if possible, to keep to Wind-ward, that so she might, as Night came on, make the best of her Way and escape; but a *Spanish* Frigate of 18 Guns tended her so close, and sail'd so well, that the Sloop could by no Means get away from the rest; so she made up close to the Buccaneers' Frigate, and maintain'd a Fight as well as she could, till in the Dusk of the Evening the *Spaniards* board-ed and took her; but most of her Men got away in her Boat, and some by swimming on Board the other Ship. They only left in her five wounded *Englishmen*, and six *Spanish* Negroes. The five *English* the barbarous *Spaniards* hang'd up immediately, wounded as they were.

This was good Notice to the other Men to tell them what they were to expect, and made them fight like desperate Men till Night, and kill'd the *Spaniards* a great many Men. It prov'd a very dark, rainy Night, so that the *Spaniards* were oblig'd by necessity to give over the Fight till the next Day, endeavouring, in the meantime, to keep as near them as they could. But the Buccaneers concerting their Measures where they should meet, resolv'd to make Use of the Darkness of the Night to get off if they could; and the Wind springing up a fresh Gale at S.S.W., they chang'd their Course, and, with all the Sail they could make, stood away to the N.N.W., slanting it to Seawards as nigh the Wind as they could; and getting clear away from the *Spaniards*, who they never saw more, they made no Stay till they pass'd the Line, and arriv'd in about 22 Days' Sail on the Coast of *California*, where they were quite out of the Way of all Enquiry and Search of the *Spaniards*.

Here it was they chang'd their Ship, as I said, and quitting their own Vessel, they went all on Board the *Spanish* Man of War, fitting her up Masts and Rigging, as I have

said, and taking out all the Guns, Stores, &c., of their own Ship, so that they had now a stout Ship under them, carrying 40 Guns (for so many they made her carry), and well furnish'd with all things; and tho' they had lost so great a Part of their Booty, yet they had still left a vast Wealth, being six or seven Tun of Silver, besides what they had gotten before.

With this Booty, and regretting heartily they had not practis'd the same Moderation before, they resolv'd now to be satisfy'd, and make the best of their Way to the Island of *Juan Fernando*; where, keeping at a great Distance from the Shore, they safely arriv'd in about two Months' Voyage, having met with some contrary Winds by the Way.

However, here they found the other Sloop which they had sent in with their first Booty, to wait for them: And here understanding that we were gone for *St Julien*, they resolv'd (since the Time was so long gone that they could not expect to find us again) that they would have t'other touch with the *Spaniards*, cost what it would. And accordingly, having first bury'd the most part of their Money in the Ground on Shore in the Island, and having revictual'd their Ship in the best Manner they could in that barren Island, away they went to Sea.

They beat about on the south of the Line all up the Coast of *Chili*, and Part of *Peru*, till they came to the Height of *Lima* itself.

They met with several Ships, and took several, but they were loaden chiefly with Lumber or Provisions, except that in one Vessel they took between 40 and 50000 Pieces of Eight, and in another 75000. They soon inform'd themselves that the *Spanish* Men of War were gone out of those Seas up to *Panama*, to boast of their

good Fortune, and carry Home their Prize, and this made them the bolder. But tho' they spent near five Months in this second Cruise, they met with nothing considerable; the *Spaniards* being every where alarm'd, and having Notice of them, so that nothing stirr'd Abroad.

Tir'd, then, with their long Cruise, and out of Hope of more Booty, they began to look Homeward, and to say to one another that they had enough; so, in a Word, they came back to *Juan Fernando*, and there, furnishing themselves as well as they could with Provisions, and not forgetting to take their Treasure on Board with them, they set forward again to the South; and after a very bad Voyage in rounding the *Terra del Fuego*, being driven to the Latitude of 65 Degrees, where they felt Extremity of Cold, they at length obtain'd a more favourable Wind, viz., at S. and S.S.E., with which, steering to the North, they came into a milder Sea and a milder Coast, and at length arriv'd at *Port St Julien*, where, to their great Joy, they found the Post or Cross erected by us; and understanding that we were gone to *Madagascar*, and that we would be sure to remain there to hear from them, and withal that we had been gone there near two Year, they resolv'd to follow us.

Here they staid, it seems, almost half a Year, partly fitting and altering their Ship, partly wearing out the Winter Season, and waiting for milder Weather; and having victuall'd their Ship in but a very ordinary Manner for so long a Run, viz., only with Seals' Flesh and Penguins, and some Deer they kill'd in the Country, they at last launch'd out, and crossing the great *Atlantick Ocean*, they made the *Cape of Good Hope* in about 76 days, having been put to very great Distresses in that Time for Want of Food, all their Seals' Flesh and Penguins growing nause-

ous and stinking in little less than half the Time of their Voyage; so that they had nothing to subsist on for seven and twenty Days, but a little Quantity of dry'd Venison which they kill'd on Shore, about the Quantity of 3 Barrels of *English* Beef, and some Bread; and when they came to the *Cape of Good Hope*, they got some small Supply, but it being soon perceiv'd on Shore what they were, they were glad to be gone as soon as they had fill'd their Casks with Water, and gat but a very little Provisions; so they made to the Coast of *Natal* on the South East Point of *Africa*, and there they got more fresh Provisions, such as Veal, Milk, Goats' Flesh, some tolerable Butter, and very good Beef: And this held them out till they found us in the North Part of *Madagascar*, as above.

We staid about a Fortnight in our Port, and in a sailing Posture, just as if we had been Wind-bound, merely to congratulate and make merry with our new-come Friends, when I resolv'd to leave them there, and set Sail, which I did with a Westerly Wind, keeping away North till I came into the Latitude of seven Degrees North; so coasting along the *Arabian* coast E.N.E. towards the Gulph of Persia, in the Cruise I met with two *Persian* Barks loaden with Rice, one of which I mann'd and sent away to *Madagascar*, and the other I took for our own Ship's Use. This Bark came safe to my new Colony, and was a very agreeable Prize to them; I think verily almost as agreeable as if it had been loaded with Pieces of Eight for they had been without Bread a great while, and this was a double Benefit to them, for they fitted up this Bark which carry'd about 55 ton, and went away to the Gulph of *Persia* in her to buy Rice, and brought two or three Freights of that, which was very good.

In this Time I pursu'd my Voyage, coasted the whole

Malabar Shore, and met with no Purchase but a great *Portugal East-India* Ship, which I chac'd into Goa, where she got out of my Reach: I took several small Vessels and Barks, but little of Value in them, till I enter'd the great Bay of *Bengale*, when I began to look about me with more Expectation of Success, tho' without Prospect of what happen'd.

I cruis'd here about two Months, finding nothing worth while; so I stood away to a Port on the North Point of the Isle of *Sumatra*, where I made no stay; for here I got News that two large Ships, belonging to the Great Mogul, were expected to cross the Bay from *Hugely*, in the *Ganges*, to the Country of the King of *Pegu*, being to carry the Grandaughter of the Great Mogul to *Pegu*, who was to be marry'd to the King of that Country, with all her Retinue, Jewels, and Wealth.

This was a Booty worth watching for, tho' it had been some Months longer; so I resolv'd that we would go and Cruise off of Point *Negaris*, on the East Side of the Bay, near *Diamond Isle*; and here we ply'd off and on for three Weeks, and began to despair of Success; but the Knowledge of the Booty we expected spurr'd us on, and we waited with great Patience, for we knew the Prize would be immensely rich.

At length we spy'd three Ships coming right up to us with the Wind; we could easily see they were not *Euro-peans* by their Sails, and began to prepare ourselves for a Prize, not for a Fight; but were a little disappointed, when we found the first Ship full of Guns, and full of Soldiers, and in Condition, had she been manag'd by *English* Sailors, to have fought two such Ships as ours were; however, we resolv'd to attack her if she had been full of Devils as she was full of Men.

Accordingly, when we came near them, we fir'd a Gun with Shot as a Challenge; they fir'd again immediately three or four Guns, but fir'd them so confusedly that we could easily see they did not understand their Business; when we consider'd how to lay them on Board, and so to come thwart them, if we could; but falling, for want of Wind, open to them, we gave them a fair Broadside; we could easily see, by the Confusion that was on Board, that they were frighted out of their Wits; they fir'd here a Gun and there a Gun, and some on that Side that was from us, as well as those that were next to us. The next Thing we did was to lay them on Board, which we did presently, and then gave them a Volley of our Small-shot, which, as they stood so thick, kill'd a great many of them, and made all the rest run down under their Hatches, crying out like Creatures bewitch'd: In a Word, we presently took the Ship, and having secur'd her Men, we chac'd the other two: One was chiefly fill'd with Women, and the other with *Lumber*. Upon the Whole, as the Grandaughter of the Great Mogul was our Prize in the first Ship, so in the second was her Women, or, in a word, her Household, her Eunuchs, all the Necessaries of her Wardrobe, of her Stables, and of her Kitchen; and in the last, great Quantities of Household-stuff, and Things less costly, tho' not less useful.

But the first was the main Prize. When my Men had enter'd and master'd the Ship, one of our Lieutenants call'd for me, and accordingly I jump'd on board; he told me, he thought no Body but I ought to go into the great Cabin, or, at least, no Body should go there before me; for that the Lady herself and all her Attendance was there, and he fear'd the men were so heated they would murder them all, or do worse.

I immediately went to the great Cabin-door, taking the Lieutenant that call'd me along with me, and caused the Cabin-door to be opened: But such a Sight of Glory and Misery was never seen by Buccaneer before; the Queen (for such she was to have been) was all in Gold and Silver, but frightened; and crying, and, at the Sight of me, she appear'd trembling, and just as if she was going to die. She sate on the side of a kind of a Bed like a Couch, with no Canopy over it, or any Covering; only made to lie down upon; she was, in a Manner, cover'd with Diamonds, and I, like a true Pirate, soon let her see that I had more Mind to the Jewels than to the Lady.

However, before I touch'd her, I order'd the Lieutenant to place a Guard at the Cabin-door, and fastening the Door, shut us both in, which he did: The Lady was young, and, I suppose, in their Country Esteem, very handsome, but she was not very much so in my Thoughts: At first, her Fright, and the Danger she thought she was in of being kill'd, taught her to do every Thing that she thought might interpose between her and Danger, and that was to take off her Jewels as fast as she could, and give them to me; and I, without any great Compliment, took them as fast as she gave them me, and put them into my Pocket, taking no great Notice of them, or of her, which frightened her worse than all the rest, and she said something which I could not understand; however, two of the other Ladies came, all crying, and kneel'd down to me with their Hands lifted up: What they meant, I knew not at first; but by their Gestures and Pointings I found at last it was to beg the young Queen's Life, and that I would not kill her.

I have heard that it has been reported in *England* that I ravish'd this Lady, and then used her most barbarously; but they wrong me, for I never offer'd any Thing of that

Kind to her, I assure you; nay, I was so far from being inclin'd to it, that I did not like her; and there was one of her Ladies who I found much more agreeable to me, and who I was afterwards something free with, but not even with her either by Force, or by Way of Ravishing.

We did, indeed, ravish them of all their Wealth; for that was what we wanted, not the Women; nor was there any other Ravishing among those in the great Cabin, that I can assure you: As for the Ship where the Women of inferior Rank were, and who were in Number almost two hundred, I cannot answer for what might happen in the first Heat; but even there, after the first Heat of our Men was over, what was done, was done quietly; for I have heard some of the men say, that there was not a woman among them but what was lain with four or five Times over, that is to say, by so many several Men; for as the Women made no Opposition, so the Men even took those that were next them, without Ceremony, when and where Opportunity offer'd.

When the three Ladies kneel'd down to me, and as soon as I understood what it was for, I let them know I would not hurt the Queen, nor let any one else hurt her, but that she must give me all her Jewels and Money: Upon this they acquainted her that I would save her Life; and no sooner had they assur'd her of that, but she got up smiling, and went to a fine *Indian* Cabinet, and open'd a private Drawer, from whence she took another little Thing full of little square Drawers and Holes: this she brings to me in her Hand, and offer'd to kneel down to give it me. This innocent Usage began to rouse some Good-Nature in me (tho' I never had much), and I would not let her kneel; but sitting down myself on the Side of her Couch or Bed, made a Motion to her to sit down too: But here

she was frightened again, it seems, at what I had no Thought of; for sitting on her Bed, she thought I would pull her down to lie with her, and so did all her Women too; for they began to hold their Hands before their Faces, which, as I understood afterwards, was that they might not see me turn up their Queen: But as I did not offer any Thing of that Kind, only made her sit down by me, they began all to be easier after some Time, and she gave me the little Box or Casket, I know not what to call it, but it was full of invaluable Jewels. I have them still in my Keeping, and wish they were safe in *England*; for I doubt not but some of them are fit to be plac'd on the King's Crown.

Being Master of this Treasure, I was very willing to be good-humoured to the Persons; so I went out of the Cabin, and caus'd the Women to be left alone, causing the Guard to be kept still, that they might receive no more Injury than I would do them myself.

After I had been out of the Cabin some Time, a Slave of the Womens came to me, and made Sign to me that the Queen would speak with me again. I made Signs back, that I would come and dine with her Majesty; And accordingly I order'd that her Servants should prepare her Dinner, and carry it in, and then call me. They provided her Repast after the usual Manner, and when she saw it brought in, she appear'd pleas'd, and more, when she saw me come in after it; for she was exceedingly pleas'd that I had caus'd a Guard to keep the rest of my Men from her; and she had, it seems, been told how rude they had been to some of the Women that belonged to her.

When I came in, she rose up, and paid me such Respect as I did not well know how to receive, and not in the least how to return. If she had understood *English*, I could have said plainly, and in good rough Words, Madam, be

easy, we are rude, rough-hewn Fellows, but none of our Men should hurt you, or touch you; I will be your Guard and Protection; we are for Money indeed, and we shall take what you have, but we will do you no other Harm. But as I could not talk thus to her, I scarce knew what to say; but I sate down, and made Signs to have her sit down and eat, which she did, but with so much Ceremony that I did not know well what to do with it.

After we had eaten, she rose up again, and drinking some Water out of a *china* Cup, sate her down on the Side of the Couch as before: When she saw I had done eating, she went to another Cabinet, and pulling out a Drawer, she brought it to me; it was full of small Pieces of Gold Coin of *Pegu*, about as big as an *English* Half Guinea, and I think there were three thousand of them. She open'd several other Drawers, and shew'd me the Wealth that was in them, and then gave me the Key of the Whole.

We had revell'd thus all Day, and part of the next Day, in a bottomless Sea of Riches, when my Lieutenant began to tell me, we must consider what to do with our Prisoners and the Ships, for that there was no subsisting in that Manner; besides, he hinted privately, that the Men would be ruin'd by lying with the Women in the other Ship, where all Sorts of Liberty was both given and taken: Upon this we call'd a short council, and concluded to carry the great Ship away with us, but to put all the Prisoners — Queen, Ladies, and all the rest, into the lesser Vessels, and let them go; and so far was I from ravishing this Lady, as I hear is reported of me, that tho' I might rifle her of every Thing else, yet, I assure you, I let her go untouch'd for me, or, as I am satisfy'd, for any one of my Men; nay, when we dismiss'd them, we gave her Leave to take a great many Things of Value with her, which she would

have been plunder'd of, if I had not been so careful of her.

We had now Wealth enough, not only to make us rich, but almost to have made a Nation rich; and to tell you the Truth, considering the costly Things we took here, which we did not know the Value of, and besides Gold, and Silver and Jewels, I say, we never knew how rich we were; besides which, we had a great Quantity of Bales of Goods, as well Calicoes as wrought Silks, which, being for Sale, were perhaps, as a Cargo of Goods to answer the Bills which might be drawn upon them for the Account of the Bride's Portion; all which fell into our Hands, with a great Sum in Silver Coin, too big to talk of among *Englishmen*, especially while I am living, for Reasons which I may give you hereafter.

I had nothing to do now but to think of coming back to *Madagascar*, so we made the best of our Way; only that, to make us quite distracted with our other Joy, we took in our Way a small Bark loaden with Arack and Rice, which was good Sawce to our other Purchase; for if the Women made our Men drunk before, this Arack made them quite mad; and they had so little Government of themselves with it, that I think it might be said, the whole Ship's Crew was drunk for above a Fortnight together, till six or seven of them kill'd themselves; two fell overboard and were drown'd, and several more fell into raging Fevers, and it was a Wonder, on the whole, they were not all kill'd with it.

But, to make short of the Story as we did of the Voyage, we had a very pleasant Voyage, except those Disasters, and we came safe back to our Comrades at *Madagascar*, having been absent in all about seven Months.

We found them in very good Health, and longing to

hear from us; and we were, you may be assur'd, welcome to them; for now we had amass'd such a Treasure as no Society of Men ever possess'd in this World before us; neither could we ever bring it to an Estimation, for we could not bring particular Things to a just Valuation.

We liv'd now and enjoyed ourselves in full Security; for tho' some of the *European* Nations, and perhaps all of them had heard of us; yet they heard such formidable Things of us, such terrible Stories of our Great Strength, as well as of our great Wealth, that they had no Thought of undertaking any Thing against us; for, as I have understood, they were told at *London*, that we were no less than 5000 Men, that we had built a regular Fortress for our Defence by Land, and that we had 20 Sail of Ships; and I have been told that in *France* they have heard the same Thing: But nothing of all this was ever true, any more than it was true, that we offer'd ten millions to the Government of *England* for our Pardon.

It is true, that had the Queen sent any Intimation to us of a Pardon, and that we should have been receiv'd to Grace at Home, we should all have very willingly embrac'd it; for we had Money enough to have encourag'd us all to live honest; and if we had been ask'd for a Million of Pieces of Eight, or a Million of Pounds Sterling, to have purchas'd our Pardon, we should have been very ready to have comply'd with it; for we really knew not what to do with ourselves, or with our Wealth; and the only Thing we had now before us, was to consider what Method to take for getting Home, if possible, to our own Country with our Wealth, or at least with such Part of it as would secure us easy and comfortable Lives; and, for my own Part, I resolv'd, if I could, to make full Satisfaction to all the Persons who I had wrong'd in *England*, I

mean by that, such People as I had injur'd by running away with the Ship; as well the Owners, and the Master or Captain, who I set a shore in *Spain*, as the Merchant whose Goods I had taken with the Ship; and I was daily forming Schemes in my Thoughts how to bring this to pass: But we all concluded that it was impossible for us to accomplish our Desires as to that Part, seeing the Fact of our Piracy was now so publick all over the World, that there was not any Nation in the World that would receive us, or any of us; but would immediately seize on our Wealth, and execute us for Pirates and Robbers of all Nations.

This was confirm'd to us after some Time, with all the Particulars, as it is now understood in *Europe*; for as the Fame of our Wealth and Power was such, that it made all the World afraid of us, so it brought some of the like Sort with our selves to join with us from all Parts of the World, and particularly, we had a Bark and 60 men of all Nations, from *Martinico*, who had been cruising in the Gulf of *Florida*, came over to us, to try if they could mend their Fortunes; and these went afterwards to the Gulph of *Persia*, where they took some Prizes, and return'd to us again. We had after this three Pirate Ships came to us, most *English*, who had done some Exploits on the Coast of *Guinea*, had made several good Prizes, and were all tolerably rich.

As these People came and shelter'd with us, so they came and went as they would, and sometimes some of our Men went with them, sometimes theirs staid with us; But by that Coming and Going our Men found ways and means to convey themselves away, some one Way, some another. For I should have told you at first, that after we had such Intelligence from *England*, viz., that they knew

of all our successful Enterprizes, and that there was no Hopes of our returning, especially of mine and some other Men who were known: I say, after this we call'd a general Council to consider what to do; and there, one and all, we concluded that we liv'd very happy where we were; that if any of us had a Mind to venture to get away to any Part of the World, none should hinder them; but that else we would continue where we were; and that the first Opportunity we had we would cruise upon the *English East India* Ships, and do them what Spoil we could, fancying that some Time or other they would proclaim a Pardon to us if we would come in; and if they did, then we would accept of it.

Under these Circumstances we remain'd here, off and on, first and last, above three Year more; during which Time our Number encreas'd so, especially at first, that we were once eight hundred Men, stout, brave Fellows, and as good Sailors as any in the World. Our Number decreas'd afterwards upon several Occasions: such as the going Abroad to Cruise, wandering to the South Part of the Island (as above), getting on Board *European* Ships, and the like.

After I perceiv'd that a great many of our Men were gone off, and had carry'd their Wealth with them, I began to cast about in my own Thoughts how I should make my Way Home also. Innumerable Difficulties presented to my View; when at last, an Account of some of our Men's Escape into *Persia* encourag'd me. The story was this: One of the small Barks we had taken went to *Gujeratte* to get Rice, and having secur'd a Cargo, but not loaded it, ten of our Men resolv'd to attempt their Escape; and accordingly they dressed themselves like Merchant-Strangers, and bought several Sorts of Goods there, such as an

Englishman, who they found there, assisted them to buy; and with their Bales (but in them pack'd up all the rest of their Money) they went up to *Bassora*, in the Gulph of *Persia*, and so travell'd as Merchants with the Caravan to *Aleppo*, and we never heard any more of them, but that they went clean off with all their Cargo.

This fill'd my Head with Schemes for my own Deliverance; but however, it was a Year more before I attempted any Thing, and not till I found that many of our Men shifted off, some and some, nor did any of them miscarry; some went one Way, some another; some lost their Money, and some sav'd it; nay, some carry'd it away with them, and some left it behind them: As for me, I discover'd my Intentions to no Body, but made them all believe I would stay here till some of them should come and fetch me off, and pretended to make every Man that went off promise to come for me, if it ever was in his Power, and gave every one of them Signals to make for me, when they came back, upon which I would certainly come off to them. At the same Time, nothing was more certain, than that I intended from the Beginning to get away from the Island as soon as I could any Way make my Way with Safety to any Part of the World.

It was still above two Years after this that I remain'd in the Island; nor could I, in all that Time, find any probable Means for removing myself with Safety.

One of the Ways I thought to have made my Escape was this: I went to Sea in a Long-boat a-fishing (as we often did), and having a Sail to the Boat, we were out two or three Days together; At length it came into my Thoughts that we might Cruise about the island in this Long-boat a great Way, and perhaps some Adventure might happen to us which we might make something of; so I told them

I had a Mind to make a Voyage with the Long-boat to see what would happen.

To this Purpose we built upon her, made a State-Room in the Middle, and clapt four Patereroes upon her Gunnel, and away we went, being sixteen stout Fellows in the boat, not reckoning myself: Thus we ran away, as it were, from the rest of our Crew, though not a man of us Knew our own Minds as to whither we were going, or upon what Design. In this Frolick we ran south quite away to the Bay of *St Augustine's*, in the Latitude of 24 Degrees, where the ships from *Europe* often put in for Water and Provisions.

Here we put in, not knowing well what to do next: I thought myself disappointed very much that we saw no *European* Ship there, tho' afterwards I saw my Mistake, and found that it was better for us that we were in that Port first: We went boldly on Shore; for as to the Natives, we understood how to manage them well enough, knew all their Customs, and the Manner of their treating with Strangers as to Peace or War; their Temper, and how to oblige them, or behave if they were disoblig'd; so we went I say, boldly on Shore, and there we began to chaffer with them for some Provisions, such as we wanted.

We had not been here above two or three Days, but that, early in the Morning, the Weather thick and haizy, we heard several Guns fire at Sea; we were not at a Loss to know what they meant, and that it was certainly some *European* Ships coming in, and who gave the Signal to one another that they had made the Land, which they could easily see from the Sea, tho' we, who were also within the Bay, could not see them from the Shore: However, in a few Hours, the Weather clearing up, we saw plainly five large Ships, three with *English* Colours, and two with

Dutch, standing into the Bay, and in about four or five Hours more they came to an Anchor.

A little while after they were come to an Anchor, their Boats began to come on Shore to the usual Watering-place to fill their Casks; and while they were doing that, the rest of the Men look'd about them a little, as usual, tho' at first they did not stir very far from their Boats.

I had now a nice Game to play, as any Man in the World ever had. It was absolutely necessary for us to speak with these Men; and yet how to speak with them, and not have them speak with us in a Manner that we should not like, that was the main Point: It was with a great deal of Impatience that we lay still one whole Day, and saw their Boats come on Shore, and go on Board again, and we were so irresolute all the while, that we knew not what to do; at last I told my Men, it was absolutely necessary we should speak with them, and seeing we could not agree upon the Method how to do it friendly and fairly, I was resolv'd to do it by Force, and that if they would take my Advice, we would place ourselves in Ambuscade upon the Land somewhere, that we might see them when they were on Shore, and the first Man that straggled from the rest we would clap in upon and seize him, and three or four of them if we could. As for our Boat, we had secured it in a Creek three or four Miles up the Country, where it was secure enough out of their Reach or Knowledge.

With this Resolution we plac'd ourselves in two Gangs; eleven of us in one Place, and only three of us in another, and very close we lay: The Place we chose for our Ambuscade was on the Side of a rising Ground almost a mile from the Watering-place, but where we could see them all come towards the Shore, and see them if they did but set their Foot on Shore.

As we understood afterwards, they had the Knowledge of our being upon the Island, but knew not in what Part of it, and were therefore very cautious and wary how they went on Shore, and came all very well arm'd. This gave us a new Difficulty, for in the very first Excursion that any of them made from the Watering-place, there was not less than twenty of them, all well arm'd, and they pass'd by in our Sight; but as we were out of their Sight, we were all very well pleas'd with seeing them go by, and being not obliged to meddle with them or show ourselves.

But we had not long lain in this Circumstance, but, by what Occasion we knew not, five of the Gentlemen Tarrs were pleas'd to be willing to go no farther with their Companions; and thinking all safe behind them, because they had found no Disturbance in their going out, came back the same Way, straggling without any Guard or Regard.

I thought now was our Time to show our selves; so taking them as they came by the Place where we lay in Ambuscade, we plac'd ourselves just in their Way, and as they were entring a little Thicket of Trees, we appear'd; and calling to them in *English*, told them they were our Prisoners; that if they yielded, we would use them very well, but if they offer'd to resist, they should have no Quarter: One of them looking behind, as if he would show us a Pair of Heels, I call'd to him, and told him if he attempted to run for it he was a dead Man, unless he could outrun a Musquet-Bullet; and that we would soon let him see we had more Men in our Company; and so giving the Signal appointed, our three Men, who lay at a Distance, shew'd themselves in the rear.

When they saw this, one of them, who appear'd as their Leader, but was only the Purser's Clerk, ask'd Who we were they must yield to? and if we were Christians? I told

them, jestingly, We were good, honest Christian Pirates, and belong'd to Captain *Avery* (not at all letting them know that I was *Avery* himself) and if they yielded, it was enough; that we assur'd them they should have fair Quarter and good Usage upon our Honour; but that they must resolve immediately, or else they would be surrounded with 500 Men, and we could not answer for what they might do to them.

They yielded presently upon this News, and deliver'd their Arms; and we carry'd them away to our Tent, which we had built near the Place where our Boat lay. Here I enter'd into a particular serious Discourse with them about Captain *Avery*, for 'twas this I wanted, upon several Accounts. First, I wanted to inquire what news they had had of us in *Europe*? and then to give them Ideas of our Numbers and Power as romantick as I could.

They told us, that they had heard of the great Booty Captain *Avery* had taken in the Bay of *Bengale*; and among the rest, a bloody Story was related of *Avery* himself, viz., That he ravish'd the Great Mogul's daughter, who was going to be marry'd to the Prince of *Pegu*; that we ravish'd and forc'd all the Ladies attending her Train, and then threw them into the Sea, or cut their Throats; and that we had gotten a Booty of ten Millions in Gold and Silver, besides an inestimable Treasure of Jewels, Diamonds, Pearls &c.; but that we had committed most inhuman Barbarities on the innocent People that fell into our hands. They then told us, but in a broken, imperfect Account, how the Great Mogul had resented it; and that he had raised a great Army against the *English* Factories, resolving to root them out of his Dominions; but that the Company had appeas'd him by Presents, and by assuring him that the Men who did it were Rebels to the *English* Govern-

ment, and that the Queen of *England* would hang them all whenever they could be taken. I smil'd at that, and told them Captain *Avery* would give them Leave to hang him, and all his Men when they could take them; but that I could assure him they were too strong to be taken; that if the Government of *England* went about to provoke them, Captain *Avery* would soon make those Seas too hot for the *English*, and they might even give over their *East-India* Trade, for they little thought the circumstances Captain *Avery* was in.

This I did, as well to know what Notions you had of us in *England*, as to give a formidable Account of us and of our Circumstances to *England*, which I knew might be of Use to us several Ways hereafter. Then I made him tell his Part, which he did freely enough. He told us that indeed they had receiv'd an account in *England* that we were exceeding strong; that we had several Gangs of Pirates from the *Spanish West-Indies* that had taken great Booties there, and were gone all to *Madagascar* to join Captain *Avery*; that he had taken three great *East-India Ships*—one *Dutch*, and two *Portuguese*, which they had converted into Men of War; that he had 6000 Men under his Command; that he had twelve Ships, whereof three carry'd 60 Guns a-piece, and six more of them from 40 to 50 Guns; that they had built a large Fort to secure their Habitations; and that they had two large Towns, one on one Side, one on the other of a River, cover'd by the said Fort, and two great Platforms or Batteries of Guns to defend the Entrance where their Ships rode; that they had an immense invaluable Treasure; and that it was said Captain *Avery* was resolv'd to people the whole Island of *Madagascar* with *Europeans*, and to get Women from *Jamaica* and the *Leeward Islands*; and that it was not doubted but



he would subdue, and make himself King of that Country, if he was let alone a little longer.

I had enjoin'd my men, in the first place, not to let him know that I was *Avery*, but that I was one of his Captains; and in the next Place, not to say a Word, but just *Ay*, and *No*, as Things occur'd, and leave the rest to me. I heard him patiently out in all the Particulars above; and when he had done, I told him it was true Captain *Avery* was in the Island of *Madagascar*, and that several other Societies of Buccaneers and Freebooters were join'd him from the *Spanish West-Indies*; for, said I, the Plenty and Ease of our living here is such, and we are so safe from all the World, that we do not doubt but we shall be twenty thousand Men in a very little Time, when two Ships which we have sent to the *West-Indies* shall come back, and shall have told the Buccaneers at the Bay of *Campeachy* how we live here.

But, said I, you in England greatly wrong Captain *Avery*, our General (so I call'd myself, to advance our Credit); for I can assure you, that except plundering the Ship, and taking that immense Booty which he got in the great Ship where the Great Mogul's Daughter was, there was not the least Injury done to the Lady, no Ravishing or Violence done to her, or any of her Attendance; and this, said I, you may take of my certain Knowledge; for, said I, I was on Board the Ship with our General all the while. And if any of the Princess's Women were lain with said I, on Board the other Ship, as I believe most of them were, yet it was done with their own Consent and good Will, and no otherwise; and they were all dismiss'd afterwards, without so much as being put in Fear of Apprehensions of Life or Honour. This I assur'd him (as indeed it was just), and told him I hop'd, if ever he came

safe to *England*, he would do Captain *Avery*, and all of us, Justice in that particular Case.

As to our being well fortify'd on the Island and our Numbers, I assur'd them all they were far from thinking too much of us; that we had a very good Fleet, and a very good Harbour for them; that we were not afraid of any Force from *Europe*, either by Land or Water; that it was indeed in vain to pretend to attack us by Force; that the only way for the Government of *England* to bring us back to our Duty would be to send A Proclamation from *England* with the Queen's Pardon for our General and all his People, if they came in by a certain Time: "And," added I, "we know you want Money in *England*, I dare say," said I, "our General, Captain *Avery*, and his particular Gang, who have the main Riches, would not grudge to advance five or six Millions of Ducats to the Government to give them Leave to return in Peace to *England*, and sit down quietly with the rest."

This Discourse, I suppose, was the Ground of the Rumour you have had in *England*, that *Avery* had offer'd to come in and submit, and would give six Millions for his Pardon: For as these Men were soon after this dismiss'd, and went back to *England*, there is no Doubt but they gave a particular Account of the Conference they had with me, who they call'd one of Captain *Avery's* captains.

We kept these five Men six or seven Days, and we pretended to show them the Country from some of the Hills, calling it all our own, and pointing every Way how many Miles we extended ourselves; we made them believe also that all the rest of the Country was at our Disposal, that the whole Island was at our Beck; we told them we had Treasure enough to enrich the whole Kingdom of *England*; that our General had several Millions in Diamonds,

and we had many Tuns of Silver and Gold; that we had fifty large Barns full of all Sorts of Goods, as well *European* as *Indian*; and that it would be truly the best Way for *England* to do as they said, namely, to invite us all Home by a Proclamation with a Pardon. “And if they would do this,” said I, “they can ask no reasonable Sum, but our General might advance it;” besides, getting Home such a Body of stout able Seamen as we were, such a number of Ships, and such a Quantity of rich Goods.

We had several long Discourses with them upon these Heads, and our frequent offering this Part to them with a Kind of feeling Warmth (for it was what we all desir’d) has caus’d, I doubt not, the Rumour of such great Offers made by us, and of a Letter sent by me to the Queen, to beg her Majesty’s Pardon for myself and my Company, and offering ten Millions of Money Advance to the Queen for the publick Service: All which is a meer Fiction of the Brain of those which have publish’d it; neither were we in any Condition to make such an Offer; neither did I, or any of my Crew or Company, ever write a letter or Petition to the Queen, or to any one in the Government, or make any Application in the Case other than as above, which was only Matter of Conversation or private Discourse.

Nor were we so Strong in Men or Ships, or any Thing like it. You have heard of the Number of Ships which we had now with us, which amounted to two Ships and a Sloop, and no more, except the Prize in which we took the Mogul’s Daughter; (which Ship we call’d *The Great Mogul*) but she was fit for nothing, for she would neither sail or steer worth a Farthing, and indeed was fit for no Use but a Hulk or a Guard-ship.

As to the Numbers of Men, they bely’d us strangely,

and particularly, they seem'd only to mistake Thousands for Hundreds; For whereas they told us that you in *England* had a Report of our being six thousand Men, I must acknowledge that I think we were never, when we were at the most, above six hundred; and at the time when I quitted the Country, I left about one hundred and eight Men there, and no more, and, I am assur'd, all the Number that now remains there, is not above twenty-two Men, no, not in the whole Island.

Well, we thought, however, that it was no Business of ours at that Time to undeceive them in their high Opinion of our great Strength; so we took Care to magnify ourselves and the Strength of our General (meaning myself), that they might carry the Story to *England*, depending upon it, That a Tale loses nothing in the carrying. When they told us of our Fort and the Batteries at the Mouth of the River where our Ships lie, we insinuated that it was a Place where we did not fear all the Fleets in the World attacking us; and when they told us of the Number of Men, we strove to make them believe that they were much many more.

At length, the poor Men began to be tir'd of us, and indeed we began to be tir'd of them; for we began to be afraid very much that they would pry a little Way into our Affairs, and that a little too narrowly that Way; so as they began to solicit their Deliverance, we began to listen to their Importunities. In a Word, we agreed to dismiss them; and accordingly we gave them Leave to go away to the Watering-place, as if they had made their Escape from us; which they did, carrying away their Heads full of all those unlikely projected Things which you have heard above.

In all this, however, I had not the good Luck to ad-

vance one Step towards my own Escape; and here is one Thing remarkable, *viz.*, That the great Mass of Wealth I had gotten together, was so far from forwarding my Deliverance, that it really was the only Thing that hinder'd it most effectually; and I was so sensible of it, that I resolv'd once to be gone, and leave all my Wealth behind me, except some Jewels, as several of our Men had done already: For many of them were so impatient of staying here, that they found Means to get away, some and some, with no more Money than they could carry about them; particularly, thirteen of our Men made themselves a Kind of Shaloup with a Mast and Sail, and went for the Red Sea, having two Patereroes for her Defence, and every Man a thousand Pieces of Eight, and no more, except that one *Macmow*, an *Irishman*, who was their Captain, had five Rubies and a Diamond, which he got among the plunder of the Mogul's Ship.

These Men, as I heard, got safe to *Mocca*, in the *Arabian* Gulph, where they fetch the Coffee, and their Captain manag'd for them all so well, that of Pirates he made them Merchants, laid out all the Stock in Coffee, and got a Vessel to carry it up the Red Sea to *Suez*, where they sold it to the Factors for the *European* Merchants, and came all safe to *Alexandria*, where they parted the Money again; and then every one separated as they thought fit, and went their own Way.

We heard of this by mere Accident afterwards, and I confess I envy'd their Success; and tho' it was a great while after this that I took a like Run, yet you may be sure I form'd a Resolution from that Time to do the like; and most of the Time that I stay'd after this, was employ'd in picking out a suitable Gang that I might depend upon, as well to trust with the Secret of my going away, as to take

with me; and on whom I might depend, and they on me, for keeping one anothers Council when we should come into *Europe*.

It was in Pursuit of this Resolution that I went this little Voyage to the South of the Island, and the Gang I took with me prov'd very trusty, but we found no Opportunity then for our Escape. Two of the Men that we took Prisoners would fain have gone with us, but we resolv'd to trust none of them with the real and true Discovery of our Circumstances; and as we had made them believe mighty Things of ourselves, and of the Posture of our Settlement, that we had 5000 Men, 12 Men of War, and the like, we were resolv'd they should carry the Delusion away with them, and that no Body should undeceive them; because, tho' we had not such an immense Wealth as was reported, and so as to be able to offer ten Millions for our Pardon, yet we had a very great Treasure; and, being nothing near so strong as they had imagin'd, we might have been made a Prey, with all our Riches, to any set of Adventurers who might undertake to attempt us, by Consent of the Government of *England*, and make the expedition, *No Purchase no Pay*.

For this Reason we civilly declin'd them, told them we had Wealth enough, and therefore did not now Cruise Abroad as we used to do, unless we should hear of another Wedding of a King's Daughter, or unless some rich Fleet or some Heathen Kingdom was to be attempted, and that therefore a new Comer, or any Body of new Comers, could do themselves no good by coming over to us: If any Gang of Pirates or Buccaneers would go upon their Adventures, and when they had made themselves rich, would come and settle with us, we would take them into our Protection, and give them Land to build Towns and Habitations for

themselves, and so in Time we might become a great Nation, and inhabit the whole Island. I told them the *Romans* themselves were, at first, no better than such a Gang of Rovers as we were; and who knew but our General, Captain *Avery*, might lay the Foundation of as great an Empire as they?

These big Words amaz'd the Fellows, and answered my end to a tittle; for they told such Rhodomontading Stories of us, when they came back to the Ships, and from them it spread so universally all over the *East-Indies* (for they were Outward-bound), that none of the *English* or *Dutch* Ships would come near *Madagascar* again, if they could help it, for a great while, for Fear of us; and we, who were soon after this dwindled away to less than 100 Men, were very glad to have them think us too strong to meddle with, or so strong that no Body durst come near us.

After these Men were gone, we rov'd about to the East Side of the Island, and, in a word, knew not what to do, or what Course to take, for we durst not put out to Sea in such a Bauble of a Boat as we had under us; but tir'd at last, we came back to the South Point of the Island again; in our rounding the Island we saw a great *English*-built Ship at Sea, but at too far Distance to speak with her; and if it had not, we knew not what to have said to her, for we were not strong enough to attack her: We judg'd by her Course, she stood away from the Isle of St *Maurice* or *Mauritius*, for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and must, as we suppos'd, come from the *Malabar* Coast, bound Home for *England*; so we let her go.

We are now return'd back to our Settlement on the North Part of the Island; and I have singl'd out about 12 or 13 bold, brave Fellows, with whom I am resolv'd to

venture to the Gulph of *Persia*; twenty more of our Men have agreed to carry us thither as Passengers in the Sloop, and try their own Fortunes afterwards, for they allow we are enough to go together. We resolve, when we come to *Bassaro*, to separate into three Companies, as if we did not know one another; to dress ourselves as Merchants, for now we look like Hell-hounds and Vagabonds; but when we are well dress'd we expect to look as other Men do. If I come thither, I purpose, with two more, to give my Companions the Slip, and travel as *Armenians* thro' *Persia* to the *Caspian* Sea, so to *Constantinople*; and I doubt not we shall, one Way or other, find our Way, with our merchandize and Money, to come into *France*, if not quite Home to my own Country. Assure yourself, when I arrive in any Part of Christendom, I will give you a farther Account of my Adventures.

Your Friend and Servant,

AVERY.

The End of the First Letter.

A SECOND LETTER

SIR,—I wrote my last Letter to you from *Madagascar*, where I had continu'd so long till my People began to drop from me, some and some, and indeed, I had, at last, but few left; so that I began to apprehend they would give an Account in *Europe*, how weak I was, and how easy it was to attack me; nay, and to make their Peace, might some of them, at least, offer their Service to be Pilots to my Port, and might guide the Fleets or Ships that should attempt me.

With these Apprehensions, I not only was uneasy myself, but made all my Men uneasy too; for, as I was resolv'd to attempt my own Escape, I did not care how many of my Men went before me: But this you must take with you bye the Bye, that I never let them imagine that I intended to stir from the Spot myself; I mean, after my Return from the Ramble that I had taken round the Island, of which I have given you an Account; but that I resolv'd to take up my Rest in *Madagascar* as long as I liv'd; indeed, before I said otherwise, as I wrote you before, and made them all promise to fetch me away, but now I gave it out that I was resolv'd to live and die here; and therefore, a little before I resolv'd upon going, I set to Work to build me a new House, and to plant me a pretty Garden at a Distance from our Fort; only I had a select Company, to whom I communicated every Thing, and who resolv'd that, at last, we would go all together, but that we would do it our own Way.

When I had finish'd my new House (and a mighty Palace you would say it was if you had been to see it), I re-

mov'd to it, with eight of the Gang that were to be my Fellow-adventurers; and to this Place we carry'd all our private Wealth, that is to say, Jewels and Gold. As to our Share of Silver, as it was too heavy to remove, and must be done in Publick, I was oblig'd to leave it behind; but we had a Stratagem for that too, and it was thus:—

We had a Sloop, as you have heard, and she lay in our Harbour, 'tis true; but she lay ready to sail upon any Occasion; and the Men who were of our Confederacy, who were not with me at my Country-House, were twelve in Number: These Men made a Proposal that they would take the Sloop, and go away to the Coast of *Malabar*, or where else they could speed to their Mind, and buy a Freight of Rice for the publick Account: In a free State as we were, every Body was free to go wherever they would, so that no Body oppos'd them; the only Dispute at any Time, was about taking the Vessel we had to go in: However, as these Men seem'd only to act upon the public Account, and to go to buy Provisions, no Body offer'd to deny them the Sloop, so they prepar'd for their Voyage. Just as they were ready to go, one of them starts it to the rest, that it was very hazardous and difficult to run such a Length every now and then to get a little Rice, and if they would go, why should they not bring a good Quantity? This was soon resolv'd; so they agreed they should take Money with them to buy a good Ship wherever they could find her, and then to buy a Loading of Rice to fill her up, and so come way with her.

When this was agreed, they resolv'd to take no Money out of the grand Stock, but to take such Mens Money as were gone, and had left their Money behind; and this being consented to, truly, my Friends took the Occasion, and took all their own Money, and mine (being 64 little

Chests of Pieces of Eight) and carry'd it on Board, as if it had been of Men that were Prick'd-run, and no Body took any Notice of it. These twelve Men had also now got twelve more with them, under Pretence of manning a Ship, if we should buy one, and in this Pickle away they put to Sea.

We had due Notice of every Thing that was done; and having a Signal given of the Time they resolv'd to go, we pack'd up all our Treasure, and began our March to the Place appointed, which from our Quarters was about forty Mile farther North.

Our Habitation, that is to say, my new House, was about sixteen Miles up the Country, so that the rest of our People could have no Notice of our March; neither did they miss us, at least, as I heard of, for we never heard any more of them; nor can I imagine what Condition or Circumstance they can be in at present, if they are still upon the Place, as, however, I believe some of them are.

We join'd our Comrades with a great Deal of Ease about three Days afterwards; for we march'd but softly, and they lay by for us: The Night before we went on Board, we made them a Signal by Fire, as we had appointed to let them know where we were, and that we were at Hand; so they sent their Boat and fetch'd us off, and we embark'd without any Notice taken by the Rest.

As we were now loose, and at Sea, our next Business was to resolve whither we should go; and I soon govern'd the Point, resolving for *Bassaro*, in the Gulph of *Persia*, where I knew we might shift for ourselves: Accordingly we steer'd away for the *Arabian Coast*, and had good Weather for some Time, even till we made the Land at a great Distance, when we steer'd Eastward along the Shore.

We saw several Ships, in our Way, bound to and from the Red Sea, as we suppos'd; and at another Time, we would have been sure to have spoken with them; But we had done Pirating; our Business now was, how to get off, and make our Way to some Retreat, where we might enjoy what we had got; so we took no Notice of any Thing by the Way; but when we was thus sailing merrily along, the Weather began to change, the Evening grew black and cloudy, and threaten'd a Storm: We were in Sight of a little Island (I know nothing of its Name), under which we might have anchor'd with Safety enough, but our People made light of it, and went on.

About an Hour after Sunset the Wind began to rise, and blew hard at N.E. and at N.E. by N., and in two Hour's Time encreas'd to such a Tempest, as in all my Rambles I never met with the like; we were not able to carry a Knot of Sail, or to know what to do, but to stow every Thing close, and let her drive; and in this Condition we continu'd all the Night, all the next Day, and Part of the Night after; towards Morning the Storm abated a little, but not so as to give us any Prospect of pursuing our Voyage; all the Ease we had, was, that we could just carry a little Sail to steady the Vessel, and run away before it; which we did at that violent Rate, that we never abated 'till we made Land on the East Side of *Madagascar*, the very Land we came from, only on the other Side of the Island.

However, we were glad we had any Place to run to for Harbour; so we put in under the Lee of a Point of Land that gave us Shelter from the Wind, and where we came to an Anchor, after being all of us almost dead with the Fatigue; and if our Sloop had not been an extraordinary Sea-boat, she could never have born such a Sea, for twelve

Days together, as we were in—the worst I ever saw before or since. We lay here, to refresh ourselves, about twenty Days; and, indeed, the Wind blew so hard all the while, that if we had been dispos'd to go to sea, we could not have done it; and, being here, about seven of our Men began to repent their Bargain, and left us, which I was not sorry for. It seems, the principal Reason of their looking back was, their being of those who had left their Money behind them. They did not leave us without our Consent, and therefore our Carpenters built them a Boat during the three Weeks we stay'd here, and fitted it very handsomely for them, with a Cabin for their Convenience, and a Mast and Sail, with which they might very well sail round to our Settlement, as we suppose they did: We gave them Fire-arms and Ammunition sufficient, and left them furnishing themselves with Provisions; and this, we suppose, was the Boat, tho' with other Men in it, which adventur'd afterwards as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and was taken up by a *Portuguese* in Distress, by which Means they got Passage for themselves to *Lisbone*, pretending they had made their Escape from the Pirates at *Madagascar*; but we were told, that the *Portuguese* Captain took a good deal of their Money from them, under Pretence of keeping it from his own Seamen; and that when they came on Shore and began to claim it, he threaten'd them with taking them up, and prosecuting them for Pirates, which made them compound with him, and take about 10000 Dollars for above 120000 which they had with them; which, by the Way, was but a scurvy Trick: They had, it seems, a considerable Quantity of Gold among them, which they had the Wit to conceal from the Captain of the Ship, and which was enough for such Fellows as them, and more than they well knew what to do with;

so that they were rich enough still, tho' the *Portugal* Captain was, nevertheless, a Knave for all that.

We left them here, as I have said, and put to Sea again; and in about twenty Days' Sail, having pretty good Weather, we arriv'd at the Gulph of *Persia*: It would be too long to give you an Account of the particular Fortunes of some of our People after this, the Variety of which would fill a Volume by itself: But, in the first Place, we, who were determin'd to travel, went on Shore at *Bassaro*, leaving the rest of our Men to buy Rice, and load the larger Vessel back to their Comrades, which they promis'd to do; but how far they perform'd, I know not.

We were thirteen of us that went on Shore here; from whence we hir'd a kind of Barge, or rather a Bark, which, after much Difficulty, and very unhandy Doings of the Men whom we had hir'd, brought us to *Babylon*, or *Bagdat*, as it is now call'd.

Our Treasure was so great, that if it had been known what we had about us, I am of Opinion we should never have troubl'd *Europe* with our Company: However, we got safe to *Babylon*, or *Bagdat*, where we kept ourselves *Incog.* for a while, took a House by ourselves, and lay four or five Days still, till we had got Vests and long Gowns made to appear Abroad in as *Armenian* Merchants. After we had got Cloaths, and looked like other People, we began to appear Abroad; and I, that from the Beginning had meditated my Escape by myself, began now to put it into Practice; and walking one Morning upon the Bank of the River *Euphrates*, I mus'd with myself what Course I should take to make off, and get quite away from the Gang, and let them not so much as suspect me.

While I was walking here, comes up one of my Comrades, and one who I always took for my particular Friend:

"I know what you are employ'd in," said *he*, "while you seem only to be musing, and refreshing yourself with the cool Breeze." "Why," said *I*, "what am I musing about?" "Why," said *he*, "you are studying how you should get away from us; but muse upon it as long as you will," says *he*, "you shall never go without me, for I am resolv'd to go with you which Way soever you take." "'Tis true," says *I*, "I was musing which Way I shou'd go, but not which Way I should go without you; for tho' I would be willing to part Company, yet you cannot think I would go alone; and you know I have chosen you out from all the Company to be the Partner of all my Adventures."

"Very well," says *he*; "but I am to tell you now that it is not only necessary that we should not go all together; but, our Men have all concluded, that we should make our Escape every one for himself, and should separate as we could; so that you need make no Secret of your Design any more than of the Way you intend to take."

I was glad enough of this News, and it made me very easy in the Preparations we made for our setting out; And the first Thing we did, was, to get us more Cloaths, having some made of one Fashion, some of another; but, my Friend and I, who resolv'd to keep together, made us Cloaths after the Fashion of the *Armenian* Merchants, whose Country we pretended to travel through.

In the mean Time, five of our Men dress'd like Merchants; and laying out their Money in Raw Silk, and Wrought Silks, and other Goods of the Country, proper for *Europe* (in which they were directed by an *English* Merchant there), resolv'd to take the usual Rout, and travel by the Caravans from *Babylon* to *Aleppo*, and so to *Scanderoon*, and we staid and saw them and their Bales go off in Boats for a great Town on the *Euphrates*, where the

Caravans begin to take up the Passengers; the other six divided themselves: one half of them went for *Agra*, the Country of the Great Mogul, resolving to go down the river *Hugely* to *Bengale*; but whither they went afterwards, or what Course they took, I never knew, neither whether they really went at all or not.

The other three went by Sea, in a *Persian Vessel*, back from the Red Sea to the Gulph of *Mocca*, and I heard of them all three at *Marseilles*; but whither they went afterwards I never knew, nor could I come to speak with them even there.

As for me and my Friend, we first laid out all the Silver we had in *European Ware*, such as we knew would vend at *Ispahan*, which we carry'd upon twelve Camels; and hiring some Servants, as well for our Guide as our Guard, we set out.

The Servants we hir'd were a Kind of *Arab*, but rather looking like the *Great Mogul's* People, than real *Arabians*; and, when we came into *Persia*, we found they were look'd upon as no better than Dogs, and were not only us'd ill, but that we were us'd ill for their Sakes; and after we were come three Days into the *Persian Dominions*, we found ourselves oblig'd to part with them; so we gave them three Dollars a man to go back again.

They understood their Business very well, and knew well enough what was the Reason of it, though we did not: However, we found we had committed a great Mistake in it; for we perceiv'd that they were so exasperated at being turn'd off, that they vow'd to be reveng'd; and, indeed, they had their Revenge to the full; for the same Day, at Night, they return'd in the Dark, and set eleven Houses on Fire in the Town where we quarter'd; which, by the Way, had gone near to have cost me my Life, and

would certainly have done so, if in the Hurry I had not seiz'd one of the Incendiaries and deliver'd him up to them.

The People were so provok'd at him that was taken, that they fell upon him with all possible Fury, as the common Incendiary and Burner of the Town, and presently quitted us; for they had before vow'd our Destruction; but, as I said, quitted us immediately, and throng'd about the Wretch they had taken; and, indeed, I made no Question but that they would have immediately murder'd him; nay, that they would have torn him in Pieces before they parted with him; but after they had vented their Rage at him for some Time with all possible Reproaches and Indignities, they carry'd him before the Cadi, or Judge of the Place; the Cadi, a wise, grave Man, answer'd, *No*, he would not judge him at that Time, for they were too hot and passionate to do Justice; but they should come with him in the Morning, when they were cool, and he would hear them.

It is true this was a most excellent Step of the *Cadi* as to the right Way of doing Justice; but it did not prove the most expedient in the present Occasion, though that was none of his Fault neither; for in the Night the Fellow got out of their Hands, by what Means or by whose Assistance, I never heard to this Day; and the *Cadi* fin'd the Town in a considerable Sum, for letting a Man, accus'd of a capital Crime, make his Escape before he was adjudg'd, and, as we call it, discharg'd according to Law.

This was an eminent Instance of the Justice of these People; and, though they were doubly enrag'd at the Escape of the Fellow, who, without Doubt, was guilty, yet they never open'd their Mouths against the *Cadi*, but acquiesc'd in his Judgment as in that of an Oracle, and

submitted to the national Censure, or Censure according to the Custom of their Nation, which he had pass'd upon them in their publick Capacity for the Escape of the Man.

We were willing to get out of this Place as soon as we could; for we found the People's Rage, which wanted an Object to vent itself upon, began to threaten us again: So having pack'd up our Goods, and gotten five ordinary Camel-Drivers for our Servants in the Country, we set out again.

The roads in Persia are not so much frequented as to be well accommodated with Inns, so that several Times we were oblig'd to lodge upon the Ground in the Way. But our new Servants took care to furnish us with Lodging; for as soon as we let them know we wanted Rest, and inclin'd to stop, they set up a Tent for us, in so short a Time that we were scarce able to imagine it possible, and under this we encamp'd, our Camels being just by us, and our Servants and Bales lying all hard by.

Once or twice we lodg'd in publick Inns, built at the King of *Persia's* Charge: These are fair large Buildings, built square, like a large Inn; they have all of them large Stables, and good Forrage for the Camels and Horses, and Apartments for perhaps two or three hundred People, and they are called *Caravanseras*, as being built to entertain whole Caravans of Travellers: On the great Roads to *Tauris* and the Side of *Turky* they are all fortify'd, and are able to entertain five or six Thousand People, and have a Stock to furnish whatever Number of Men can come with Provisions; nay, it has been known, that whole Armies of the *Persians* have on their March been furnish'd with Provisions in one of these *Caravanseras*, and that they have kill'd 2000 Sheep for them in one Night's Time.

In this Manner we travell'd to *Ispahan*, the Capital of

Persia, where appearing as Merchants, and with several Camels loaden with Merchandise, we pass'd all possibility of Suspicion; and being perfectly easy, we continu'd here some Time, sold our Cargoes, and would gladly have remitted the Money to other Places, as for *Constantinople* in particular; but we found the *Turks* and *Persians* have no such Thing as an Exchange, by Bills running between them and other Nations—no, nor between one Town and another.

We were invited here by a sudden Accident to have gone Home by the *Caspian Sea* and *Astracan*, so thro' *Muscovy*; but I had heard so much of the Barbarity of the *Russians*, the dangerous Navigation of the *Caspian Sea* by Reason of the Calms and Shoals, the Hazard of being robb'd by the *Tartars* on the River *Wolga*, and the like, that I chose to travel to *Constantinople*, a Journey through Desarts, over Mountains and Wastes, among so many Sorts of Barbarians, that I would run any Kind of Hazard by Sea, before I would attempt such a Thing again.

It would deserve another History to let you into all the different Circumstances of this Journey: how well I was us'd by some, and how ill by others; nay, how well by some *Mahometans*, how ill by some Christians: But it shall suffice to tell you that I am at present at *Constantinople*; and tho' I write this here, I do not purpose to send it to you till I come to *Marseilles*, in *France*; from whence I intend to go and live in some inland Town, where, as they have, perhaps no Notion of the Sea, so they will not be inquisitive after us.

I am, &c.

FINIS.

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